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WINSLOW PAPERS

A. D. 1776—1826.

Pt. 1

PRINTED UNDER THE AUSPICES
OF THE

NEW BRUNSWICK

HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

EDITED BY

REV. W. O. RAYMOND, M. A.

ST. JOHN, N. B.:
THE SUN PRINTING COMPANY LTD.
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PREFACE.

This book will be found to contain the largest and most important collection of public and private papers relative to the early history of the maritime provinces that has hitherto been published. No private collection of papers in Canada, with perhaps the single exception of the Chipman papers, can compare with the Winslow collection as regards the length of the period that it covers, the number of writers represented, and the variety of subjects with which it deals.

Some years ago the editor learned of the existence of the collection and was invited by Mr. Francis E. Winslow of Chatham, in whose keeping the greater part of the papers were, to examine them with a view to their preservation in some permanent form. The importance of such a step became apparent upon the most cursory inspection. The editor indeed found himself well nigh overwhelmed with the extent and variety of the materials available for historical purposes and the greater part of his leisure time during the last two years has been devoted to the task of digesting and arranging them for publication. Large as the volume is, as now printed, it does not begin to represent the mass of materials of varying degrees of interest and importance to be found in the original collection.

In addition to the papers in possession of Mr. Francis E. Winslow there have been added a considerable number of letters and documents kindly loaned by other members of the Winslow family, and the editor's obligations are especially due to Mr. Edward Pelham Winslow of Stratford, Ont., and Miss Mary Winslow, of Woodstock, N. B. Several letters written by Edward Winslow and a few other documents of interest have been added, of which the originals are to be found among the Chipman papers.

In the arrangement of the papers as now printed the chronological order has been adhered to as far as possible. A copious index has been prepared which will be found to add very greatly to the value of the book for purposes of reference.

Some idea of the variety of topics with which the volume deals may be gathered from the fact that it contains about six hundred and fifty letters and documents written by about one hundred and seventy different persons and covering a period of nearly fifty years. The editor's task has been chiefly one of selection and arrangement with the addition of such foot notes as will enable anyone to read the pages of the book intelligently even though not conversant with the subject in hand.

More than one hundred and fifty of Edward Winslow's letters are printed, the originals of which are, in most instances, rough drafts, doubtless often improved in the final letter. The versatility of Winslow's pen is really extraordinary, and posterity will confirm the judgment of his contemporaries that, as a letter writer, among his many correspondents he knew no peer.

The character of Edward Winslow as depicted in the pages of this book is worthy of admiration. He was a splendid specimen of the Tory of olden time, loyal to his king and country, strong in his adherence to the principles in which he believed, true in his friendships and his resentments not lasting, a good son and tenderly devoted to the happiness of his family. His energy and activity in public affairs was limited only by the opportunities of service afforded him and by the condition of his health. A generous and sympathetic nature rendered him always alive to the necessities of the unfortunate. To this characteristic of his nature the words of his life long friend Sir John Wentworth attest when he observes in a letter to Judge Chipman, shortly after Judge Winslow's decease, that his late friend's usefulness to others had occupied those exertions which his family had reason to lament had not been more directly applied to his own advantage.

Edward Winslow will be found to be his own best biographer. His virtues and his failings are alike truthfully portrayed in his writings; to the reader of this book is entrusted the formation of a just opinion of his character. He enjoyed the friendship and esteem of some of the foremost men of his generation, many of whose letters will be found in the pages that follow.

The publication of the Winslow papers is rendered practicable by the generous aid of Mr. Francis E. Winslow. The volume appears, as is very proper, with the imprimatur of the New Brunswick Historical Society, which has also contributed towards its publication. The editor's task has been a labor of love in which he has been greatly cheered by the interest manifested in the book in advance by many whose opinion he greatly values.

The "Winslow Papers" will be found to shed much light upon the attitude of the Loyalists in the American Revolution and the circumstances that attended their settlement in the maritime provinces at the close of the war. The book will also be found to be a veritable mine of information with regard to the circumstances under which the Province of New Brunswick sprang into existence. The leading incidents of our early provincial history, social and political, are clearly portrayed, and much light thrown upon the somewhat obscure period dating from the beginning of the past century down to the close of the war of 1812.

In view of the fact that the book is intended as a memorial of the life and work of Judge Edward Winslow, as well as a repository of historic facts, no apology is needed for the insertion of much that is of a personal character. The letters to his own family and the pathetic story of his death will not to the general reader be the least interesting portion of the volume. The responsibility for all that has been published rests solely with the editor who has done his work to the best of his ability amidst the many interruptions and distractions incident to a busy life.

The editor has to express his obligation to various members of the Winslow family for their confidence in entrusting to his judgment the selection of all that is printed in this volume. Cordial thanks are also tendered to Sir John Bourinot, Dr. W. F. Ganong, and Mr. S. D. Scott, for timely suggestions; to Jonas Howe, Ward Chipman Hazen, Joseph Ewing and Harry Piers, for use of letters and assistance in procuring illustrations; and to many others for their friendly interest displayed in a great variety of ways.

WILLIAM O. RAYMOND.

St. John, N. B., July 9, 1901.

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INTRODUCTORY.

The late Judge Winslow of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick was a lineal descendant of Edward Winslow, the Mayflower pilgrim and first Governor of Plymouth Colony. His ancestry may be traced back to Kenelm Winslow of Kempsey, County of Worcester, England, who died in 1607. To Kenelm Winslow was born by his wife Catharine, in 1560, a son Edward. This Edward Winslow (the first of the name so far as we know) was the progenitor of a long list of namesakes. He lived at Drortwich, England. He was twice married, and the oldest son by his second wife, whose maiden name was Magdalene Ollyver, was Edward, the Mayflower pilgrim. From him, as the first of the name in America, the Winslows of New Brunswick trace their descent as follows:

1. Edward—son of Edward and Magdalene Winslow, born 1595, died in 1654, aged 59 years. By his second wife, Susannah White (widow of William White) he had two children, Josiah and Elizabeth.
2. Josiah—son of Edward and Susannah Winslow, born 1628, died in 1680, aged 52 years. Married 1657 Penelope Pelham.
3. Isaac—son of Josiah and Penelope Winslow, born 1670, died in 1738, aged 68 years. Married Sarah Wensley.
4. Edward—son of Isaac and Sarah Winslow, of Marshfield, born 1713, died at Halifax June 9, 1784, aged 71 years. Married Hannah (Howland) Dyer.
5. Edward—son of Edward and Hannah Winslow, born February 20, 1746; died May 13, 1815, aged 69 years. By his wife Mary he had a numerous family, including Daniel Murray, Mary, Thomas Aston Coffin, Penelope, Edward, Hannah, Sarah Ann, Christiana Bannister, John Francis Wentworth, Eliza Chipman, Catherine.
6. John Francis Wentworth—son of Judge Edward and Mary Winslow, born at Kingsclear, New Brunswick, in 1793, died at Woodstock, N. B., October 14, 1859, aged 66 years. He married Sept. 25, 1823, Jane Caroline, youngest daughter of Andrew Rainsford, Esq., Receiver General. Their children were Francis Edward, John Coffin, Mary, Edward, Elizabeth Rainsford, Wentworth, Thomas Bradshaw and Edward Byron.

A few words with reference to these several generations will not be amiss.

(1) Edward Winslow of Mayflower fame, the first ancestor in America, joined the Pilgrims at Leyden, Holland, where in 1618 he married Elizabeth Barker. Not long afterwards he and his young wife left the comforts of a luxurious home to encounter the perils of an ocean voyage in a frail little ship. It was on the 22nd of December, 1620, the Mayflower arrived at Plymouth, and the little Pilgrim Colony began life anew in a wilderness whose solitudes were broken only by the cries of the wild beasts, or perhaps the still more fearful war whoop of the savage. The poor young wife died a few months after she came to America. Edward Winslow, as already stated, was the first Governor of Plymouth Colony and no individual contributed more to its establishment and success than he. He combined great energy with an extensive knowledge of men and affairs. He was sent to England four times as agent of the Colonies. He died in 1654 at sea, on his return from the West Indies, where he had been sent by Oliver Cromwell as a commissioner to superintend an expedition to the Spanish West Indies.

For further information respecting Governor Edward Winslow and his immediate descendants, the reader is referred to W. T. Davis' "Ancient Landmarks of Plymouth." See also Wm. S. Russell's "Guide to Plymouth," pp. 238-240.

(2) Governor Winslow's son Josiah, like his father, filled the office of Governor of the Plymouth Colony, and was a man of much influence and ability.

(3) Hon. Isaac Winslow, of Marshfield, filled various positions of public trust. He had several children, whose names are of special interest to the people of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia; among them were John, Elizabeth and Edward. The eldest of these, General John Winslow, is well known for the part he was called upon to play in the Expulsion of the Acadians. The journal of his doings in that connection will be found in the Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, Vol. III., pp. 71-196. Gen. John Winslow's son Pelham was a Loyalist, and at the evacuation of Boston in 1776 came with the army to Halifax; he married Joanna, daughter of Gideon White. Elizabeth Winslow, sister of General John Winslow, married Colonel Benjamin Marston, and their son Benjamin was an active Loyalist, who at the peace in 1783 was employed as Chief Engineer in laying out the Town of Shelburne, and afterwards was the first Sheriff of Northumberland County.

(4) Edward Winslow, brother of General John Winslow, was an accomplished scholar and gentleman of fine presence and engaging manners. He was a generous host, and his mansion was often filled with a distinguished company, the aristocracy of the Old Colony. The old Winslow Mansion is still standing on North Street, Plymouth, within a stone's

Old Winslow House at Plymouth.

throw of Plymouth Rock; the following description is condensed from the Boston Herald of March 24, 1889.

The house is a large square one with fluted Corinthian corners and an air of old English solidity, which at once marks it as a residence of some former leader of the Colony. It was built about the year 1754 by Edward Winslow, a great grandson of Governor Winslow, who purchased the land from Consider Howland (a grandson of John Howland, one of the Mayflower Pilgrims) and is still commonly called "the Winslow house." The lofty lindens by the front door were planted in 1760 by the fair hands of Edward Winslow's daughter. A big hall-way runs from front to back of the house and on either side are lofty square rooms. Up stairs, in the front, the rooms are very high, with high wainscoating, deep recessed window seats and queer old-fashioned mouldings around the ceilings. At the front of the house is divided into two stories, while the rear contains three. The house was confiscated and sold after the Winslows abandoned it at the time of the Revolution.

Edward Winslow was a man of note in the community. From 1757 to 1762 he was one of a Board of select-men, and in 1760 was Treasurer of the colony. In conjunction with his son, Edward Winslow, Jr., he held the offices of Collector of the port, Registrar of Probate and Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas. Deprived of his offices in 1775, he solicited permission to remove to New York, and in 1781 joined the British garrison in that City, the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Henry Clinton, allowing him a pension of £200 per annum, with rations and fuel. On August 30, 1783, he embarked at New York, with his family and servants, and on September 14th arrived at Halifax, where he died a few months later at the age of 72 years. He was accorded a public funeral, the pall bearers being Governor Wentworth, Lieut. Governor Fanning, Hon. Arthur Goold, Brigadier General John Small, Hon. Foster Hutchinson and Henry Lloyd, Esq. The funeral was attended by Governor Parr, the General commanding the Forces, and many prominent officials, including the Executive Council of Nova Scotia.

The tomb of Edward Winslow will be found in the upper right hand corner of old St. Paul's grave-yard, opposite Government House, in Halifax. The stone is a flat slab, gray in color, with the following inscription:

> "Sacred to the memory of Edward Winslow, Esquire, who died the 9th of June, 1784, in the 72nd year of his age. Descended from a race of ancestors, Governors of the ancient Colony of Plymouth, he in no one instance degenerated from their loyalty or virtue. but while he filled the first offices, became as conspicuous by public integrity as he was amiable in the milder shades of private life. Although his fortunes suffered shipwreck in the

storm of Civil War, and he forsook his native country from an attachment to his sovereign, neither his cheerful manners nor the calm reward of conscious rectitude forsook him in old age. He died as he lived, beloved by his friends and respected by his enemies."

The widow of the elder Edward Winslow survived her husband for twelve years. She died and is buried at Fredericton, and the following is the epitaph on her tombstone:

"Sacred to the memory of Hannah Winslow, widow of Edward Winslow, Esq., formerly of Plymouth, in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, who died on the 23rd day of May, 1795, whose unaffected piety, peculiar dignity of manners, serenity of temper and benevolence of heart rendered her justly and universally respected to her latest hour. This tribute is erected by her children."

(5) Edward Winslow, son of the above, afterwards Judge of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick, was a graduate of Harvard in 1765. He was one of the founders of the Old Colony Club, and his address in 1770 was the first ever delivered at an anniversary of the Landing of the Pilgrims. He was his father's assistant in the various offices which the latter held, and was also Naval Officer of the port. At the breaking out of the Revolution he was loyal to the crown. When Lord Percy led the expedition to relieve Major Pitcairn at Lexington on April 19th, 1775, young Winslow was his guide. He received from General Gage the appointment of Collector of the Port of Boston and Registrar of Probate for Suffolk County. On the evacuation he went to Halifax, carrying with him all the Records, and also the Royal Coat of Arms from the Council Chamber. The Records were returned in good order after the peace, but the Coat of Arms remained and now hangs on the walls of Trinity Church, St. John.

Sir William Howe appointed him Secretary of the Board of Officers, of which Lord Percy was President, for the distribution of donations to the troops, sent out from England by private munificence. Returning to New York he was appointed Muster-Master-General of the Loyalist forces with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel.

"Head Quarters, New York. 30th July, 1776.

"Edward Winslow, Esq., to be Muster-Master-General to the Pro-
"vincial Troops taken into His Majesty's pay within the Colonies lying in
"the Atlantic Ocean from Nova Scotia to West Florida inclusive.

(Signed) "Stephen Kemble, Deputy Adjutant Gen."

He was actively engaged throughout the war and had deputy muster-masters at various centres such as Halifax, Rhode Island, New York, Philadelphia, and in Florida and the Carolinas. In 1779 he commanded the Associated Refugees at Rhode Island and served in two campaigns. At the close of the war he was sent to Nova Scotia by Sir Guy Carleton, to make arrangements for the disbanding and settlement of the Loyalist Regiments. He was at this time appointed Military Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Nova Scotia. He was largely instrumental in promoting the division of the old Province of Nova Scotia, and had General Fox accepted the post offered him of Governor of New Brunswick, Edward Winslow would have been our first Provincial Secretary. He was appointed a member of His Majesty's Council for the Province. He held in addition the offices of Surrogate, and Surveyor of the King's Woods for New Brunswick under Sir John Wentworth and was the presiding Justice of the Court of Common Pleas for the County of York.

It was not, however, until he was appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court in 1807 that he received the reward justly his due for long continued and disinterested public services. The following year he was, for a short time, Administrator of the Government as Senior member of the Executive Council. He died at his residence "King's Wood" on May 13, 1815.

A beautiful double light Memorial Window has been lately placed in St. Mary's Chapel, Chatham, N. B., which bears the following inscription:

> "To the Glory of God and in Memory of the Honorable Edward Winslow, Judge of the Supreme Court, and one of the Loyalists of the Province. Died May 13, A. D., 1815, AE. 69 years. He was a descendant of Governor Winslow of Plymouth, Mass. —Loyal to Church and King—Faithful to all duties of his public and private life—A good Son, an affectionate Husband and Father, and a True Friend. This window was erected by his grandson, F. E. Winslow."

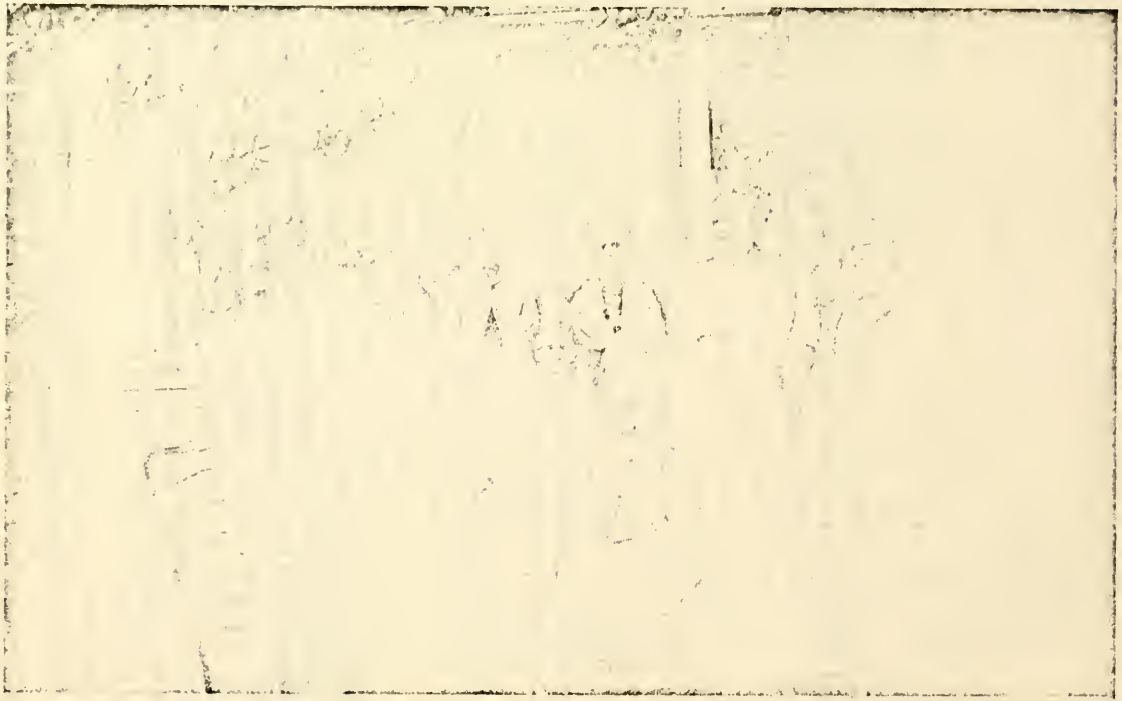
(6) John Francis Wentworth Winslow in his boyhood was a clever lad, as is shown by the fact that when but nine or ten years of age he occasionally acted in the capacity of amanuensis for his father, whose hands were not infrequently crippled by severe attacks of rheumatic gout. Among the "Winslow papers" of the years 1802-3 there are some in his boyish hand. When about 14 years of age he was gazetted an Ensign in the Nova Scotia Fencibles, and shortly afterwards joined the regiment at Newfoundland. Finding that the influences brought to bear upon him in this Corps were undesirable—many of the officers being dissipated—he

was by his father's influence transfered in 1810 to the 41st Regiment in Upper Canada. He served in the war of 1812, and was with General Brock at the taking of Detroit and at the battle of Queenstown Heights. He displayed great coolness and courage at the unfortunate battle of Sackett's Harbor. At the close of the war in 1814, on the disbanding of his regiment he was placed on half pay. He returned to New Brunswick and was with his father in his last illness. He married Sept. 25, 1823, Jane Caroline Rainsford, a lady who was universally beloved and admired by all who had the privilege of knowing her. She survived her husband many years and died April 4th, 1891, at the age of 90 years and 6 months. The Rainsford family were noted for their longevity. Mrs Winslow's mother, whose maiden name was Elizabeth Cummings, was the mother of sixteen children, several of whom lived to a great age.

John Francis Wentworth Winslow was a namesake of the Governor of Nova Scotia, in fact Sir John and Lady Wentworth were his God parents, and always took the most affectionate interest in him. When the County of Carleton was organized in 1832, Mr. Winslow was appointed High Sheriff, the tenure of office to be for life or during good behaviour. He held office until 1856, discharging the duties, which were often of an arduous and sometimes dangerous nature, to the satisfaction both of the government and of the public. The County of Carleton at first extended from Eel River to the St. Francis, a distance of more than 150 miles. During the period of the so called "Aroostook war" the duties of his position called for the exercise of great tact combined with firmness and courage. Sheriff Winslow possessed these qualities in an eminent degree and managed to maintain friendly relations with the American authorities on the border, continuing the while to exercise jurisdiction in the "disputed territory" until the Aroostook valley was awarded to the United States by the Washington Treaty in 1842. Another ordeal through which he passed was during the time of the Woodstock riots in 1847, when his manly and impartial conduct bore good fruit in maintaining the supremacy of the law and restoring good fellowship.

In the year 1856 Sheriff Winslow was removed from office for political reasons. He was reappointed the next year, but again displaced. This occasioned much feeling on the part of his friends, and was a sore disappointment to the Sheriff personally. Some two hundred letters expressive of sympathy and esteem were sent in from all parts of the country signed by the best adherents of both political parties. At least a thousand individuals joined in the remonstrance.

Sheriff Winslow did not long survive his retirement to private life. He died at his residence at Upper Woodstock in October, 1859, aged 66 years. As a citizen, he was the soul of honor, one of those men of whom



WINSLOW HOUSE AT WOODSTOCK, N. B.
Group of Judge Winslow's descendants.

it might be said "his word was as good as his bond." He was a faithful and devoted member of the Church. His mortal body lies beside that of his wife beneath the shadow of a lofty elm in the old churchyard at Woodstock, and the monument erected to his memory bears the inscription:

> "A staunch friend, a generous opponent, a faithful official; in honor unstained; of loyalty unimpeachable, and respected even by his enemies."

Seven of his family survived him, five of whom are still living in New Brunswick, viz.:—Francis Edward Winslow, Manager of the Bank of Montreal at Chatham for 32 years past; Mary and Wentworth Winslow of Woodstock; Edward Byron Winslow, Barrister, of Fredericton, and Thomas Bradshaw Winslow, clerk in the Crown Land Office, Fredericton.

John Coffin Winslow, for many years Post Master at Woodstock, died at that place a few years ago.

EXPLANATORY NOTE.

For the selections contained in the pages that follow the responsibility rests solely with the writer of this Note. It was manifestly impossible—and if possible not desirable—to copy the whole of the immense collection of "Winslow Papers," containing as it does hundreds of letters and documents of all degrees of interest and importance. With such an abundance of materials there was of course much difficulty in making choice of what should appear in these pages. The writer could only endeavor to use his best judgment. This he has done.

In not a few of the letters it will be found that parts are omitted—the omissions being indicated by asterisks or other marks. Such omissions were necessary in order to keep the work within bounds. Examination of the original letters will, however, show that the portions omitted are usually either lacking in historic interest, or are merely repetitions of that which is told elsewhere.

The instances in which it has seemed advisable for any other reason to omit portions of letters of a private and confidential nature are surprisingly few, in view of the fact that the correspondents were numbered by the score and included all classes of men. As for Winslow himself, few men have so little reason to be ashamed of anything they may have written as he.

W. O. Raymond.

WINSLOW PAPERS.

Jonathan Sewall to Edward Winslow.

London, Brompton-row, No. 1,
Jan'ry 10, 1776.

Dear Ned:

* * * * * * * * * *

I am out of all patience at hearing, from you and others, the accounts of your Sufferings—what Excuse can be Form'd for a British Admiral, who, with 30 or 40 Ships under his Command, suffers a Garrison to starve tho' surrounded with plenty of every Necessary within the reach of his Ships; who tamely & supinely looks on and sees Fishing Schooners, Whale-boats and Canoes riding triumphant under the Muzzles of his Guns, & carrying off every Supply destined for your relief. Heaven grant you patience, & reward every one according to the Deeds done in the Body. I can tell you for your comfort, that he is cursed as hard on this side of the Water, as he can be on yours—he has now no Advocate here & I believe will scarcely find a Friend in England upon his return. I hope by this time, you are relieved in some measure, as out of the great Number of Ships w'ch have sailed loaded with provisions & Coal, it will be hard indeed, if some don't get in safe, in spite of the Vigilance of the Rebels, & the Inactivity of Trunnion. I verily believe your Sufferings are drawing near a period—you will undoubtedly have, early in the Spring, an Army of 40,000 & a Fleet of upwards of 70 Ships, & then the Mettle of the Rebels will be try'd—hitherto their successes have been owing to their having none to oppose them—the poor infatuated Wretches, as yet, know Nothing of War—they have been treated as froward Children heretofore, but now, they will be treated as incorrigible Traitors. I pity, I feel for the Majority, but, for their Sakes, I wish the vengeance of G. Britain may speedily overtake their base Deluders.

I wish you were here Ned, with Money enough in your pocket—you can have no idea what a noble Country this is for a Gentleman—every Thing is upon an immense Scale—whatever I have seen in my own Country, is all Miniature, yankee-puppet-show. I was at Court the Day before yesterday, being the Queen's Birth Day, (I am now at the 20th) & I believe in my Conscience, the prime Cost of the Dresses I saw there, was sufficient to have purchased our whole Continent—the Wealth of this Country is truly astonishing, but unless a Gentleman can get his Share of

it, he has no Business here—£600 per An. is but as a Drop in the Ocean —the Man is lost—he is Nothing—less than Nothing and Vanity—& his Contemplation of his own comparative Littleness, is Vexation of Spirit—but, humiliating as it is, I wish to stay here for the Sake of giving my Boys a Chance for the grand prizes which every professsion presents to view—however, I fear, the cold, inhospitable, Lilliputian Region of Halifax will finally bring me up; for as to Massachusetts Bay, I wish it well, but I wish never to see it again till I return at the Millenium—No, believe me, Ned, the Mad Conduct of my Countrymen has given me a Dose I shall never get over—God mend them, & bless them—but let me never, never be cursed with a residence among them again. I hate the Climate where Rebellion and Fanaticism are ingendered—& I would shun it as I would a country infested with the plague—from all which, good Lord, deliver me. I thank you for writing to me, & beg for such favors every opportunity & in return, you shall have frequent Scribblings from, dear Ned,

Your faithful Friend &c.

Jon. Sewall.*

Appointment as Muster-Master-General.

Head Quarters, New York,
30th July, 1776.

Edward Winslow, Esq., to be Muster-Master-General to the Provincial Troops taken into His Majesty's pay within the Colonies lying on the Atlantic Ocean from Nova Scotia to West Florida inclusive.

Stephen Kemble,†
Deputy Adjutant General.

---

*Jonathan Sewell was a graduate of Harvard and attorney general of Massachusetts, and, prior to the Revolution, the intimate friend of John Adams. He was eloquent and gifted. His estate was confiscated by the Americans. He went to England in 1775. He held the appointment of judge of the admiralty for Nova Scotia from 1769 until his death. He came out to New Brunswick in 1788 and died at St. John Sept. 26, 1796. (See letter in this book under date 27th Sept., 1796). The elder Ward Chipman was his protege. His wife, Esther Quincy, was sister to the wife of John Hancock, the first signer of the declaration of independence. He died in Montreal Jan. 21, 1810. Jonathan Sewell's eldest son and namesake became chief justice of Quebec.

†Stephen Kemble was born in New Brunswick, in New Jersey, in 1740. At the age of seventeen he was an ensign in the 44th regiment. He served in the French war, and rose by successive gradations of rank until he was colonel in the 60th, or Royal American Regiment of Foot, and was deputy adjutant general, in 1772, of the British forces in North America. In 1805 he retired from the army. He received a grant of 20,000 acres of land on the St. John river, which included a large portion of the parishes of Hampstead and Greenwich. He died in 1822, aged 81 years. See article by Jonas Howe on "Kemble Manor" in New Brunswick Magazine for September, 1898.

Edward Winslow to Col. Patterson, Adjutant General.

New York, 6th, Nov'r, 1776.

Sir:—At the request of Brig. Gen. Delancey I attended at Hampstead on Long Island the 28th ulto. & mustered all those who have enlisted in his Brigade and were not included in my returns of the 4th inst. I cannot make a better apology for any errors in my method of proceeding than by observing that all the battalions which are to form this brigade are at present incomplete, & I am not able to obtain from Mr. Porter, or others any precedent or form for such partial musters; I am therefore reduced to the necessity of establishing a kind of system for myself and I have endeavored to calculate my reports so as to answer those purposes which you were pleased to tell me were expected viz., "ascertaining the whole number of effectives & also the particular numbers raised by each Captain." When any one of the battalions is perfect I shall engross the companies of which it is formed & return one regular roll.

I most humbly beg to trouble you once more on the subject of the donations* in my custody—Among 'em are 4,000 flannel waistcoats, 7 or 8,000 yards fine warm baize, a considerable quantity woolen caps, mittens and gloves, and 12 Hogsheads shoes all of which are very scarce articles here & would be particularly useful to the army at this time. I have made several applications to Earl Percy for a meeting of the board of General Officers, that a distribution might be made. The fear of incurring his Lordship's displeasure prevents me from repeating my request. At present the goods remain in store subject to some risque & totally useless. If I can be favor'd with any directions respecting them I shall immediately obey—I am with great respect,

Yr. most obed't & h'ble serv't,

E. Winslow.

Col. Patterson.

E. Bridgham to Edward Winslow.

December 5th, 1776.

Dear Sir,—

I have sent you pr. John all the papers you required.

Major Rogers, Captains Grant and Campbell and another Captain who is raising another independent Company were all here yesterday enquiring for you to muster their men. They were all extremely anxious to have it done as till then they cannot receive pay, &c. Major Rogers sent an officer to you Express, whether he found you, you can best tell—

*These donations were provided by generous individuals in England. See references in this book under date January 12, 1778; also under Edward Winslow's memorial, Dec. 28, 1780.

If it could with propriety be done I would muster them for you with all my heart. General Howe sailed this day for Amboy with all his Family & Baggage. It is reported that Gen. Cornwallis is at Prince-Town within forty miles of Philadelphia.

A vessel arrived yesterday from Halifax. Reports by her are that a considerable body of rebels have landed in that Province and have besieged Fort Cumberland. The people in Halifax are in great consternation. It is said Gen'l Massey has requested of Gen. Howe a reinforcement of 2,000 men. * * *

Capt. Grant has this minute called upon me, says that Capt. McKenzie is going to the Jerseys, refuses paying him till his company is mustered.

Yrs. &c.,
E. Bridgham,* Deputy-MusterMaster.

Governor Montfort Browne to Edward Winslow.

Flushing, February 6th, 1777.

Dear Sir—Lieutenant Colonel Pattinson† is arrived here last night, and has brought me a copy of the General orders of Monday in which the General has appointed him to my corps. As it will take up some time to arrange matters with him respecting the regiment, I am apt to think I cannot have the pleasure of seeing you in New York before Saturday morning. * * * I have just rec'd an express order from the neighborhood of Ric that ninety odd fine young fellows are lying hid at a lady's farm. I have therefore ordered Capt. Hoyt hither without delay, and I am about arming the new schooner with swivells, &c., which my people cut out of Rayway river in the Jerseys.

We all met yesterday at Mr. Cumlines and spent a very chearfull day. Your company would have added exceedingly to our jollity, but suppose from a multiplicity of business you forgot your promise.

Adieu and believe me, with the greatest amity

Dear Sir
Your most obedient & most
humble Servant,

Montfort Browne.

P. S. My best compliments to my worthy friend McKenzie.

*Ebenezer Bridgham had been a merchant in Boston. He was at this time Colonel Winslow's deputy at New York. Later he was a deputy inspector of provincial forces under Lt. Col. Alex. Innes. He went to St. John in 1783 and was a grantee of Parr Town.

†Lieut. Col. Thomas Pattinson, according to Sabine, died at Charleston, South Carolina, prior to December, 1782.

Benjamin Kent to Edward Winslow.

Boston Feb'y 24th, 1777.

Sir,—

These acquaint you that your Father Edward returning to Plymouth, by a Fall dislocated his shoulder but soon had it restor'd. Mrs. Solomon Davis died at Plymouth last Thursday.

When Mr. Temple returned to Boston he informed me that you said the Files and Records of our Court of Probate* were carried to Halifax. I beg to know of you what is become of them & also that you would use your interest that by some means the Files of that Court may be had by us, for I believe they were carried away from Boston through your kindness. They can be of no service to you or your Friends, but are of very great importance to us & doubt not but you will do what you or your superiors shall judge proper to be done in the premises and you will greatly oblige many Thousands beside

Your serv't

——— Benj'n Kent.†

Gov. Montfort Browne to Edward Winslow.

Flushing, 22nd June 1777.

Sir,—I pay'd you a visit yesterday morning to acquaint you that your presence is much wanted at my head quarters in order to muster about eighty or ninety men which are a part of those in whom I place particular confidence—it is possible I may receive many more ere your arrival here, as they only waited for Captain Hoyt's armed sloop; Governor Wentworth wishes you would call upon him in your way hither as he purposes doing me the honor of a visit, and waits at home for that purpose.

A Company of Gentlemen, each of good fortune, are in their way hither to joyn me, they decline pay, or any emolument whatsoever, some of them are already arrived, and all of my acquaintance. I shall request the General's permission to put them all into one Company: Such spirited conduct deserves applause. I did intend writing on this subject to my worthy friend McKenzie, but upon second thoughts, suppose he wishes I would not trouble him with matters out of his line—I am in vast haste, Sir,

Your most obed't & most humble serv't,

Montfort Browne.‡

P. S. Write me a line.

*See letter of Edward Winslow to G. W. Murray, dated April 7, 1811.

†Benjamin Kent, of Boston, graduated at Harvard in 1727, and was a personal friend of Adams and Hancock. He, however, cast in his lot eventually with the Loyalists. He died in Halifax in 1788, aged 81 years.

‡Montfort Browne was commander of the Loyalist corps called the Prince of Wales American Regiment, with the rank of brigadier general. He was lieutenant governor of West Florida in 1768-1769, and afterwards governor of the Bahamas.

Edward Winslow, Esq., Muster-Master-General of Provincial Forces—to Ward Chipman, Dr.:

July, 1777.

For assisting him in his office from 10th July to 24th October inclusive being 107 days at 5s pr. diem.....£26 15 0

Edward Winslow to Lt. Col. Innes.*

Long Island, 31st Oct'r, 1777.

Sir,—I this day communicated the order of the Com'r in Chief to Brig. Gen'l Skinner relative to the men inlisted by Mr. Maddox—I also paraded Maddox company at Decker's ferry & discharged therefrom 32 men whose names are in the list enclosed, all of whom acknowledged that they were taken from the prison ships & that they were formerly in rebel privateers, &c.—these I committed to a guard of 25 men who had orders to escort 'em to the ships from which they were taken. It was my intention to have mustered all the battalions in Brig. Gen'l Skinner's Brigade, of which I had given previous notice to the respective commanding officers, but on my arrival at Staten Island I found it impracticable. Before the late storm they were encamped on the Hill near the redoubts in huts of their own forming, roofed with poles and covered with earth. By the violence & long continuance of the rain those huts were entirely destroyed & the men reduced to the necessity of seeking shelter wherever they could find it. They are now scattered over almost every part of the island, & very many of 'em are sick with agues, rheumatics and other disorders. In such a state it was impossible to collect them. I therefore requested Brig. Gen. Skinner to give me notice when he was ready for a general muster. As soon as I receive information from him I shall attend. * * *

I am Your most obedient servant,

Ed. Winslow.

Ward Chipman to Edward Winslow.

Valley of Hadad,† Saturday Night 29th: Nov: '77..

Dear Winslow,

I have been anxiously expecting to hear from you since my last which was written & sent while you remain'd at the Hook, but am fearful your passage was equally tedious & disagreeable with your stay here, as several Arrivals within these few days give no Intelligence of you, we have how-

*Lieut. Colonel Alexander Innes was inspector general of all the Loyalist (or provincial) troops during the Revolutionary war. In April, 1779, he was gazetted lieut. colonel of the South Carolina Royalists. See further concerning him under date Dec. 28, 1780.

†A place in the vicinity of New York City. See Winslow's references under June 22nd, 1778.

ever at last the pleasing account of the reduction of the Forts on the Delaware, which have so long been the object of general expectation, which will, I hope, facilitate your immediate accession to Head Quarters. Nothing of great importance has occurred here since you sailed,* what circumstances are worth relating I will endeavor to recollect. For this fortnight past the Rebels have regularly every night landed in small parties on Staten Island, generally without effect, sometimes taking off two or three of the Picket Guards stationed along the shore, this conduct however is very distressing to the troops there, as they are kept constantly alarmed, & have not during all that time had one night in bed. Last Wednesday night they seem to have meditated a serious attack. Gen'l Dickinson landed with 14 or 15,00 men, with some pieces of artillery, but upon discovering some Frigates coming down early in the morning, upon the signal Gun for that purpose being fired, he returned to the Jerseys, taking off a Lieut. Buskirk & a few men of Buskirk's Corps:† as I learn from general Report. Gen. Clinton went down, but returned early in the afternoon on Thursday. At the same time a party attacked somewhere near Kingsbridge, but to as little purpose I believe, tho' I have not yet been able to learn the particulars.—On Tuesday night a party of the Villians landed at Bloomingdale,‡ & after having plundered, set fire to Gen'l Delancey's house, and took off one or two of the guard which he kept there, from the first Battalion, who being employed upon working upon his farm, in the day time, of course slept all night, which prevented a seasonable Discovery of their intention. About the same time two or three Persons were intercepted in an attempt to make their escape from the City, who being searched and examined, have led to the discovery of a plot formed by a number of the Inhabitants, to set fire to the City upon an attack being made from without; thirteen are said to be found out & 3 or 4 sentenced to be hanged;—since this discovery, whether in consequence of any connection between them I know not, all the rebel officers

*With the army under General Howe to Philadelphia, where there were some Loyalist corps to be mustered.

†This was the fourth battalion of the Loyalist corps, called the New Jersey Volunteers, the commander of which was Lieut. Colonel Abraham Van Buskirk. His commission is dated Nov. 16, 1776. The majority of the corps were of Dutch extraction. Col. Van Buskirk was the first mayor of Shelburne, N. S., but many of his men settled in the parish of Kingsclear and others at Fredericton.

‡Bloomingdale, on Manhattan Island, was the country seat of General Oliver DeLancey. It was at that time in the suburbs of New York but has long since been incorporated in the city limits. The incident here referred to is related in detail in Jones' Loyalist History of New York. Brig. Gen. Oliver DeLancey in 1776 raised for the king's service three battalions, which are mentioned in this letter. (See Jones' Loyalist Hist. of N. Y., vol. 1, p. 264.). At the peace in 1783 the first and second battalions received a large grant of land at Woodstock, N. B. The Griffiths, Smiths and others of that place are descended from officers of that corps. Most of the third battalion of DeLancey's brigade settled in Queens and Sunbury counties.

on this Island were surprised about 2 in the morn'g a few days ago and hurried off by the assistance of the militia & the Volunteer Company called together for that purpose, & sent on board ship; not one of them, to our great joy is left.—The Battalion from Satauket* is now stationed about 3 miles below Col. Ludlows, on the north side of the plain, & that from Huntington at Jamaica, which saved me great trouble in the muster; since their removal the Rebels have landed at Huntington & taken off some Friends to Government. A general attack is daily threatened, & the destruction of the City warmly anticipated, as we could collect by People that have come in; but I think we shall be quite safe if the reinforcement talk'd of, arrives from Gen'l Howe's Army. There have been & still continue frequent Desertions from the Provincial Corps at Kings-bridge;—Genl. Skinner's Brigade† is not yet reduced to three Battalions, as we expected; I wish to know if it is a measure determined upon, as in that case, I shall defer entering them in the Books, till it takes place. I shall enclose you an exact State of the Provincial Troops, from the last muster, which I have just completed, you will observe those detach'd to the Chasseurs, make an additional casuality, this I tho't best, as that company seems now to be established, & it gives a very erroneous idea of some of the Battalions, to have those thus detach'd, considered as a part of their present effective strength—particularly the independent Companies, as you will see by inspection. By comparing this State of the Provincial Troops with that you carried with you, you will see the "total inlisted" in this, owing to the recruits, considerably exceeds them in that, & yet the "total Privates present," falls short; this is owing to those in the additional Casuality being considered as present, in the former State. Most of the abstracts for pay, are signed, if you should not return soon, which I anxiously hope you will, I shall wish for your directions with respect to the next muster.

*The third battalion of DeLancey's brigade was commanded by Colonel Gabriel G. Ludlow, with Lieut. Col. Richard Hewlett second in command. The men of this battalion were nearly all natives of Queens County, Long Island, N. Y. The battalion stationed at Huntingdon at this time was the first, commanded by Brigadier Gen. DeLancey in person, with Lieut. Col. John Harris Cruger as second in command. The second battalion was at Kingsbridge, above New York. It was commanded by Colonel George Brewerton, with Lieut. Colonel Stephen DeLancey (the general's son) second in command.

†The New Jersey Volunteers comprised at first six battalions. The corps was raised about the latter part of the year 1776 by the efforts of Brig. Gen. Cortlandt Skinner. The corps was known as "Skinner's Greens," probably on account of the color of uniform. Officers and men were chiefly natives of New Jersey, Pennsylvania and New York. In the engagement at Staten Island, Aug. 22, 1777, the brigade lost quite heavily, and in consequence the first and fifth battalions were amalgamated in April, 1778. The third and sixth battalions were consolidated into one about the same time. Finally in 1781 the second battalion was merged with the others, thus reducing the original six battalions to three. These at the close of the war were commanded by Lieut. Colonels Stephen DeLancey, Isaac Allen and Abraham Van Buskirk.

I have, agreeable to your directions, waited on Gov. Wentworth, & presented him a state of the Provincial Troops, with which he appeared highly gratified, & was induced to say things which I had no right to expect; he made such unsolicited offers of assistance upon his arrival in England, as encouraged me to make known my situation exactly: & he has kindly promised to make particular inquiry into the cause of my difficulties. His civility was beyond expression, and as I am generally embarassed on such occasions, I fear I appeared very awkward in expressing my gratitude; I wish if you have an opportunity, you would let him know the peculiarly grateful sense I entertain of his kindness; as it is the only return that will ever be in my power to make.

Bridgham was mistaken in the account he first gave me of the Donations, he since tells me that, Genls. Vaughan, Robertson & Jones as a board appointed the person I mentioned, as knowing best to whom to distribute them; who has since taken them all into his possession. *

* *

Edward Winslow to Committee on Relief of Soldiers, Etc.

Philadelphia, 12 January 1778.

Gentlemen,

It was my intention to have Transmitted Your Committee every transaction of the Board of General Officers (relatives to the distribution of those articles sent for the relief of Soldiers serving in America &c) as they occur. This was practicable while a Majority of the members who compos'd the Board, remain'd in Garrison; but the separation which took place immediately on our landing in the Province of New York, render'd a meeting impossible & prevented me from receiving such instructions as I suppos'd necessary.

I am now directed by the Commander in Chief to furnish you with the best information which my present situation will admit, & I have ordered the Store Keeper at New York (who is in Possession of all the papers) to transmit a particular account of the receipts & issues from our leaving Nova Scotia to the present time.

[Note by the Editor.—The goods that remained undistributed were shipped to Staten Island. The cheese was divided among the British regiments; 5000 lbs. tobacco among the foreign troops: the molasses and essence of spruce made into beer and issued to the soldiers at New York. On arrival of the "Catherine & Richmond" from England with another donation, there was a second general distribution. The distressed widows and orphans were supplied with shoes, hose, flannel, etc. The money donated also was judiciously used. Winslow closes his letter as follows.]

I have Generally performed in person the pleasing Task of distribut-

ing the Donations & of Course have had the best opportunity of observing the effects, & I think I may venture to assert that the most Sanguine expectations of the Generous Subscribers to this Charity must be fully Answer'd. Many objects* have been snatch'd from extreme wretchedness & made comfortable, and many friendless Orphans now live to acknowledge your Bounty who without it might not have existed.

I flatter myself that my particular account will meet your approbation—and I beg leave to subscribe my Self,

Your most faithfull &
Obed't Serv't,
Ed. Winslow,
Sec'ry to the Board of Gen'l. Officers.

To the Committee for
relief of Soldiers, &c.

Ward Chipman to Edward Winslow.

Valley of Hadad, Feb'y 15, 1778.

My dear Friend,—

One Mr. Shenstone in a book of his, which I once read, says "that the best time to answer the letters from a friend is the moment of the receipt of them, because then the intelligence received and the warmth of Friendship most forcibly co-operate." * * *

Never was female weakness more conspicuous upon the most interesting interview, than my sensations were joyous, melancholy, calm, immoderate & confused at the perusal of the most unexpected yet pleasing letters that I ever received; unexpected because I imagined the first egg shell that could float from the Delaware to the Hook would have owned you its passenger, and pleasing as they acquaint me with incidents with respect to a Friend whose interest and happiness is very justly the first object of my wishes and attention. * * *

Friendship, in this very self-interested period of the world, or perhaps more properly that part of the world where we are at present amusing ourselves is a name almost exploded and I suppose, with half mankind around us, would be laughed at if placed in competition with interest on any occasion,—but on this as in many other instances I value it the more for its rarity and thank God I am not so improved in the polite maxims of the present age as to have forgot the old fashioned principles I learned at home. * * *

I am glad your envy of the retirement of the Valley (of Hadad) is like to operate so forcibly as to induce you to partake of it. I think you would not be disappointed if your situation is such as you describe. My

*i. e., Unfortunate people.

dear fellow you need not enjoin it upon me to write by every opportunity. I can with you say "this cursed itch for scribbling" will never suffer me to neglect you. * * *

It is with pleasure I inform you that Polly & Murray* have been in high health ever since you sailed. Not a return or even a symptom of those complaints which used to be so frequent and were so distressing to me. * * *

In your letter No. 3, comes a new subject and a d——d affair it is & first let me thank God we did not hear of it till you were so far recoverd. What astonishes me is that the Villain has not been discovered. If he has been, it is still more extraordinary that discipline should be so far relaxed upon any prudential or political considerations as to suffer so flagrant a piece of Villainy to pass without its due punishment.

I hope you have not concealed the worst. I tremble to think of the danger you have been in. I fear you are now so used to these hair breadth escapes that you will think a shield will always be supplied by your propitious stars. * * *

But before I quit the subject I must tell you that the most ludicrous turn is given to the whole affair in the city. They say you fought with a post and wounded yourself and mention the story of jumping into the sloop—had you not written so seriously I should not have suspected it was just as you have related.

I am glad you have had an opportunity of providing for Richard tho' I believe few masters would have parted with so good a servant, especially when in so great need of one, on such considerations. As for your Dutch "Valet de Chambre," I think he will find his match here for stupidity, slowness, dirtiness and honesty in an English blue-coat-boy that Tom Moore† inlisted for a Drummer, whom I have taken to clean shoes and shovel snow. * * *

Polly is wishing to see you and hopes this will never find you at Philadelphia.

Your unalterable, affectionate &
faithful Friend,
Chip.

Memorandum of Agreement between Nicholas Cowenhoven Esqr: of New Utrecht‡ in Kings County in the Province of New York on the One

*Colonel Winslow's wife and infant son, the latter named after his father's friend and comrade in arms, Major Daniel Murray, of the King's American Dragoons.

†Thomas William Moore, a captain in DeLancey's second battalion.

‡New Utrecht on Long Island, opposite Staten Island, at the entrance of New York harbor.

Part, and Edward Winslow Esqr: of the City of New York in the said Province, on the other part.

Whereas the said Nicholas Cowenhoven hath this first day of May A. D. 1778, leased, hired & to farm-let a certain house, with the Garden, yard, Barn & Appurtenances thereunto belonging, situated in New Utrecht aforesaid, to the said Edward Winslow for the term of one year from the day of the date hereof; the said Edward Winslow in consideration thereof doth promise and agree to pay unto the said Nicholas Cowenhoven the sum of twenty-five pounds New York Currency, for the year, to be paid quarterly, and also six pounds like money for the use & improvement of the lot of Land lying between the said house and Mr. Denys's house, for the term of one year as aforesaid. And also to pay for the Privilege of pasturing on the farm five horses & one Cow for the term aforesaid at the Rate of Fifty Shillings per head.

Test. Nichl. Cowenhoven.

W. Chipman. Ed. Winslow.

Edward Winslow to Robert Hallowell.

[May 2, 1778.]

Since I wrote you from Philadelphia I have rec'd yours of 15th Jan'ry, for which I am extremely oblig'd. Your acknowledgment of a continuance of a cordial esteem for me gratifies me vastly.

The hint given me with respect to the tidesmen shall be attended to as far as possible. Altho' convinced by my own frequent experience of the ingratitude of mankind in general, I have not yet learned to neglect the distressed when its in my power to relieve 'em. That I may in some future day want what I now lose by assisting others, is an idea which I never indulge. It would be a species of blasphemy in me. It would argue a distrust of that Providence, which has hitherto dealt out favors to me most profusely. In all the variety of vicissitudes which I've experienced since I quitted peace and contentment with the best of friends in the obscure village of P[lymouth], I've never wanted such comforts as my neighbors enjoyed. Damn me if I believe I ever shall.

I've lately heard from our family by a letter from my father and Sally, dated 5th March last sealed for the first time in these three years—they are all well. You'll envy me when I tell you that I've had several chances lately of remitting money to them. My father has contrived to negotiate the matter by receiving cash of the prisoners at Boston and drawing on me for the amount. These orders I have paid with more alacrity than I ever rec'd money from the same good man to discharge a steward's Bill at Harvard College after being dun'd a Quarter for it. Is

it not peculiarly hard that the old gentleman should be poor? Yet true it is that had not an accidental sum from me prevented he must have sold his house at P[lymouth].

Sally in her letter most seriously regrets that her dear Mr. Hallowell's clothes pass the house every Sunday on the back of a nasty great cooper, and poor Mr. Savage's, she says, were purchased and are worn by Tommy Spooner.

At the auction Sally's friends attended and bought some few things of yours, among which is a miniature picture of your sister (she supposes). It is kept among her precious relics, and will be carefully preserved. My pincushion too, poor thing—merely because it was found in bad company—was condemned to be sold and I suppose now hangs next to the new-dyed petticoat of some indelicate fat fisherwoman's wife. How the Devil my pincushion could come among your things I cannot possibly imagine. In some future day you shall give me satisfaction on this subject.

Had I any news I dare not communicate it. Letters in these precarious times are subject to such variety of accidents that one trembles at every line lest it may fall into the hands of the malicious, be misconstrued, &c.

There is nothing in my power to command that I would not give for one hour's conversation with my most loved friends of the Monday night club. Not even a Peter* should interrupt me, nor should the orders of a Coffin silence me for a moment. Many things would I tell you so completely ridiculous as to make you laugh, but many more so tragical as to draw tears from the stubbornest of you.

What effect the late maneuvres of administration will produce cannot be conjectured. I believe, and am happy in the idea, that the Americans will not accept the terms. They have treated Lord North's speech and the acts with their usual contempt & indignity—they've been publicly burnt in Jersey, &c. Should these insolent vagabonds in consideration of their present distresses be induced to listen to the proposal made by government, I really think the American friends of government are in a situation most peculiarly awkward. For my own part I feel no anxiety. I am in an office the execution of which is frequently hazardous; I have hitherto performed my duty faithfully, and will continue to do it altho' Hell's in front and perdition in my rear. I therefore fear no consequences and ask no favors. But when I cast an eye on some venerable figures and consider their services and their sufferings, and know that they are unnoticed and unforgotten, by Heaven I feel a noble indignation—and it rises and increases sweetly when I observe scoundrels

*The reference is most probably to Peter Oliver, Jr., who was an intimate friend of Col. Winslow.

who have just emerged from the very centre of rebellion, fellows who have fill'd chairs at Congress—persecuted the loyal members of committees, and commanded Rebel regiments in times of action, now pushed most rapidly into places confidential and lucrative.* But I am growing imprudently scurrilous.

Tell Mrs. H. that I have not—nor will I forget my obligations to her: make my most sincere respects to her and to your brothers and Capt. Bishop's families, and to such other of my American friends as may fall in your way.

Believe me, most affectionately & sincerely

Yours,

E. Winslow.

Pelham Winslow to Edward Winslow.

Newport, May 30, 1778.

Dear Sir:—I received yours by Doct'r Wightman with the order inclosed which he has since discharged. * * *

Mr. Leonard, who went from this garrison with the fleet to receive Gen. Burgoyne's army, by stress of weather was driven into Plymouth harbour, where he obtained permission to supply your father with two quarter casks of wine. He has again sailed for Boston with a fleet laden with provisions, by which opportunity we sent some clothing and other necessaries for your patients consigned to the care of Martin Brimner Esq'r, which we flatter ourselves will be safely delivered. * * *

There is about a year's pay due to me as Fort Major of Castle William, whereof I presume the warrants are lodged in the paymaster's office, I have drawn an order in your favor to receive it. * * *

The rebels are still persecuting our unhappy friends. In a late letter of Mrs. Blowers to her husband she writes that even your father has been called upon to turn out as a common soldier, hire a man in his room, or go to gaol. I have refrained from sending this intelligence to [your] sister Pen, lest it should too strongly affect her tender filial heart—perhaps you may blame me for mentioning it even to you. When Mrs. Blowers wrote, your father was at Marshfield, whether as a place of abode or on a visit she does not say. Sister Penny is very much perplexed and undetermined about returning. She is anxious of seeing her parents and conducing to their happiness. * * *

*This statement is corroborated in some measure by Judge Thomas Jones in his Loyalist History of New York, Vol. 1, p. 159, etc.

Give me leave to congratulate you on your removal to New Utrecht, where I will with pleasure visit you on my return.

Compliments to the happy family and all other friends concludes me, Yours sincerely,

Pelham Winslow.*

Edward Winslow, Esq'r.

Note.—There was a strong Loyalist party in Plymouth County. There is filed among the Winslow papers a "List of Refugees from the County of Plymouth," dated in 1775, in which there appear some ninety names, of which seventy-three are from Marshfield. The list is printed in full in the Proceedings of the Mass. His. Society for March, 1886. Among the prominent Loyalists in the list we find the following:—

From Middleborough,—Hon. Peter Oliver, Dr. Peter Oliver, Jnr., Ebenezer Spooner.

From Plymouth,—Edward Winslow, Jun., Cornelius White, Gideon White, Jun., Lemuel Goddard, Elkanah Cushman.

From Halifax,—Josiah Sturtevant, Daniel Dunbar.

From Pembroke,—Thomas Jocelyne.

From Scituate,—Dr. Benjamin Stockbridge, Charles Curtis.

From Marshfield,—Hon'ble N. R. Thomas, Abijah White, Deacon John Tilden, Capt. Nath'l Phillips, Pelham Winslow, Dr. Isaac Winslow, Nathaniel Thomas, Elisha Foord, Sylvanus White, Capt. Cornelius White, Stephen Tilden, Warren White, Seth. Bryant, Joseph Hall, Gideon Walker.

Major Barry to Edward Winslow.

Newport, June 14th, 1778.

Dear Winslow, * * Business adieu! Now for yourself, let me tell you my friend I am by no means pleased with your situation on Long Island which seems to me a very dangerous one, as I would be bound, were I on the other side of the Question, to take you or our friend the Brig'r from any part of that Island, and truly my fears tell me you are of sufficient consequence to be attempted. Therefore I will direct that on the receipt of this you forthwith retire either to New York or Newport, at the last of which places I have an house. Your sister is with us as

*Pelham Winslow of Plymouth, Mass., attorney-at-law, was a son of General John Winslow (well known in connection with the Acadian expulsion) and a cousin of Edward Winslow. Pelham Winslow graduated at Harvard in 1753 and entered the office of James Otis as a law student. At the revolution he became a pronounced Loyalist, and in 1774 was obliged to seek refuge with the British forces in Boston. In 1776 he accompanied the army to Halifax and went thence to New York. He engaged in the royal service and was fort major of Castle William. He died in 1783, leaving a wife and infant daughter, who were afterwards living at Shelburne. Mrs. Pelham Winslow was a sister of Capt. Gideon White of Shelburne.

you will find from the enclosed. How does the change in the Commander in Chief affect you ? * * *

Our affair at Warren, Bristol, &c. you have heard of. It has produced this effect at least, the delaying Mr. Sullivan's intended attack on us and perhaps, for a time, has frustrated a more general plan. Adieu,

Yours truly,

Henry Barry.

Governor Montfort Browne to Edward Winslow.

Rhode Island, June 18, 1778.

I wished exceedingly, my Dear Sir, for the pleasure of seeing you before I embarked at N. York, and I endeavored all I could to effect that wished for satisfaction by calling several times at your house to no purpose; it was a mortification to me not to have had it in my power to have trusted you with our destination, which had been kept a secret for some time, as thereby I might have received a line of introduction to some of your relations who I wished to be acquainted with. Having understood that your amiable sister* lived within the district of the Encampment under my Command, I took the liberty to visit her, & had the satisfaction to find her the pleasing Counterpart of her affable and agreeable brother for whom as well as his sister I retain the most perfect friendship and esteeem; if it can come within the circumstance of my Command to do anything that can serve any friend or relation of yours I request you will communicate it to me, as thereby I shall have an opportunity to testify the personal attachment Esteem & regard with which I have the pleasure to subscribe myself, My Dear friend;

Your most obedient Serv't.

Montfort Browne.

You have, inclosed, a letter sent me this morning by your Amiable Sister.

Edward Winslow to Sir John Wentworth.

June 22nd, 1778.

Altho' no opportunity for England has offered, I will not suppress the before going lengthy epistle but go on to tell your Excy. that since the writing I've had perhaps as fortunate an escape as any man in this world can boast of. On my return from Philadelphia I removed my quarters from the Valley of Hadad to the house where Gen'l Howe's Head Quarters were, in New Utrecht Town. On the 13th inst. about 12 at

*The sister referred to was Penelope, eldest sister of Col. Winslow.

night a party of rebels (supposed to be about 25) landed directly below my house, marched up to the street, reconnoitered and as we imagine satisfy'd themselves that I was at home, but as their principal object was Flat Bush and an alarm might be the consequence of an attempt on me, they passed on to the houses of Major Moncreiffe* and Mr. Bache, both of whom they made prisoners and carried off. They also attacked the Mayor's house near Flat-Bush Church, but he luckily heard 'em early enough to take possession of his garret to which there was no entrance but a trap door. A musket fired in the town just at the time alarmed 'em and induced 'em to desist. On their return a small party were detached from their road, which was about 200 yards from my house. Most happily I had a number of my friends about me, Daniel Murray, Mr. Upham, Parson Panton,† Mr. Chipman and myself were very socially sitting round my table with the windows open. Whether our appearance was too formidable or whether they suspected from our being up at so late an hour that we were ready for 'em—or what was the cause, God knows, the fact is that they civilly omitted calling and until 8 o'clock in the morning I did not hear or suspect than anything of the kind had or could have happened. You may imagine that a small effusion of gratitude succeeded the intelligence. Not a single charge of powder or ball had I in my house. It is perhaps the most extraordinary circumstance that ever took place. A party of men to land in a clear evening, pass five miles in a public road by a great number of houses, enter a town, take two of the principal inhabitants and return and embark unmolested—is not it a pleasant telling story! It is beyond a doubt that it was a premeditated plan between the rebel officers on parole and the scoundrels who came over. I fear that some of the inhabitants of this village were not innocent. It has had a very happy effect for me. Gen'l Tryon immediately ordered a party of the 35th to Flat Bush and your Excellency's Troop of Dragoons were sent to New Utrecht. I have this week had the pleasure of putting them in possession of very comfortable quarters lately occupied by rebel officers. They are all round me, Bannister‡ in the house with me. I am prodigiously gratify'd at this movement for various reasons. The lads are exceedingly pleased at this mark of confidence and are perfectly reconciled to the performance

*Major James Moncreiffe, an officer in the Engineers, who afterwards performed distinguished services in the war, particularly at Savannah and Charlestown. See Sabine's American Loyalists.

†Rev. George Panton, M. A., of Trenton, New Jersey, and afterwards of Philipsburg (now Yonkers), N. Y. During the war he was chaplain of the Prince of Wales American Regiment. At the peace he came to Nova Scotia and became S. P. G. missionary at Yarmouth.

‡Thomas Bannister of Rhode Island, of Wentworth's Volunteers. He was one of the famous "Fifty-five" petitioners at the close of the war for lands in Nova Scotia. He was a magistrate at Weymouth in 1785.

of very severe duties. Six of them patrole every night on the beach from Gravesend point to Deny's and in the street. Murray* is quite Commandant of the City and I'm a sort of Magistratical assistant. (Together) I believe we shall make a tolerable figure, and effectually prevent any future incursions of the Rebels— I am endeavoring to put him in a way of issuing orders, making reports & communicating such other facts as I am acquainted with. I flatter myself when your Exc'y. next sees the company you'l find 'em greatly improved.

Edward Winslow to Benning Wentworth (Son of Gov. Wentworth).

July 9th, 1778.

What in the Devil's name Mr. Benning Wentworth are you about that you can't spare the time to write a line to your friends in this country. From the Gov'r I did not expect a letter immediately on his arrival in England because I supposed he would have matters of great importance to transact, but I concluded that you could find a few minutes leisure. I desire sir, after you have seen the Lions & all the other monstrous curiosities of London, that you collect yourself and remember that there are several persons in this Land of Liberty and peace who are anxious to hear from you. The Gov'r will inform you of a pretty little maneuvre of the rebels on my end of the Island. Guess if I did not feël desperate queerly. The Mayor saved himself by a trap door. Chip is determined to cut one at my house and I suppose the example will be followed by the neighbors so that whenever there's an alarm all the Inhabitants will be bobbing up and down like Coons & Neo in "Nid & Nod." It is said that Gen. Clinton is certain to come with the army by land to New York, if so they must kick up a hell of a dust in the Jersies. I really imagined soon after your departure that something very capital would have taken place ere this, but there has been such a damnable series of treating and

*Major Daniel Murray, formerly of Brookfield, Mass., a son of Colonel John Murry, whose portrait by Copley is now in possession of J. Douglas Hazen of St. John. Daniel Murray at this time held a commission in Governor Wentworth's Volunteers, but later was major in the King's American Dragoons. He commanded the latter corps when they were sent to the St. John river in 1783. It was the first of the Loyalist regiments to arrive, and for a while it lay encamped at, or near, the site of Carleton on the west side of the St. John harbor, but later it was sent up the river to be disbanded in Prince William. Major Murray operated saw mills on the Pokiok river, but they proved unremunerative, and were destroyed by fire in 1798. He owned 200 acres at the mouth of the Pokiok and also 120 acres on Long Island, in Prince William, and here he resided for some years. His property was sold at the instance of his creditors, Messrs. Donaldson and Garden, in 1807. The major had left the province in very embarrassed circumstances about the year 1803. He died at Portland, Maine, in 1832. He was an able and enterprising man, but unfortunate.

retreating—Pidling, conciliating & commissioning, that fighting (which is the only remedy for the American disorder has been totally suspended). However &c., &c.,—God grant that my next to you may be dated in some Province rather to the northward of this. Sure am I that the army at present here may crush this cursed rebellion if they exert themselves now. I hate the subject. Again I desire to be informed when are you to return, what you are about, &c. Let me be remembered to all my American friends, and believe me

Most cordially & affectionately yours,

Ned.

Edward Winslow to Judge Jonathan Sewall.

August, 1778.

As well may a Man of War put to sea without Her tender—or a new-made General move without his Aid d'Camp— as a letter from Chipman to Judge Sewall be concluded without a Scrip from me. His epistles lately are of a bulk so enormous & contain intelligence so prodigious with comments so monstrous, that a summary or abridgement is absolutely necessary—mine like running Footmen push forward with all possible expedition just to announce his coming. And now may it please your honor, he is coming to inform you of a number of particulars—I wish I could saw with "authentic certainty"—and to give his opinion upon a number of events which I'm oblig'd to declare have not as yet & probably never will take place. Monstrously gratify'd was I at reading a few paragraphs in your letter wherein you charge him with being rather "too sanguine in giving credit to vague reports" & inform him that "many of his articles of intelligence have been propagated & refuted before his letters arrive." This very matter I have told him of several times— but to little purpose— until the other day an accident convinced him how dangerous it was to report stories relative to public matters in these uncertain times, until they were certainly authenticated. You will please to observe that we live in a house directly opposite to a remarkable Dutch Church, which is built in an octagonal form tapering from Bottom to Top & terminating in a small Belfry— In short the external appearance is so very singular and odd that my friend Jesse Adair when we landed at this place on the great 27th of Aug. swore "it was a Haystack with a chimney to it." Within side of the building is a dark crooked staircase which winds round the house & leads at last to the Belfrey from whence you have a most extensive view of the sea. To this place on all occasions our friend repairs when there's the least suggestion that a Fleet or Ship is to be seen. Unfortunately a report prevail'd that the

French fleet had return'd to this harbor. He together with a Mr. Forrest (who like other human creatures is liable to mistakes) mounted the look-out and saw most distinctly with a "very good glass," Count D'Estaing advance toward the Hook & his Lordship our Commander in Chief retreat from before him & cover himself within the Beach—their colors were plain to be seen, their motions were such as from the reason & nature of things render'd it impossible that the fleet without should be any other than that commanded by Count D'Estaing and the fleet within of course the same which was directed by Viscount Howe. Full of this important news he posted to the City, & (saving a little altercation with an honest farmer who declar'd that no fleet or vessel had arriv'd) he got safe to the Coffee-house Bridge (where all secrets are divulg'd). Here he communicated the tidings & soon monopoliz'd the attention of a gaping multitude. Every presumptuous doubter was satisfy'd by Chip's reason'g & conclusions—the story flew—it reach'd Head-Quarters—our friend was summoned to appear, expatiated on the motions — the signals — the Colors—the numbers—& the magnitude of the Ships, & came off after convincing the most obstinate that he was right. But alas he was wrong. It was not the French-fleet, it was only a small detachment of his Lordship squadron which were station'd without & were approaching nearer the shore. Since this I really believe that proof more authentic will be waited for—and that greater dependence may be placed on his next information.

E. Winslow to Capt. John Smith, Pay Master of the Loyalist Forces.

Sir,—

Inclosed is a contingent bill for extra expenses and payment of Deputies from August 1777 to August 1778.

In July 1776 I had the honor of being appointed Muster Master General of Provincial Forces raised and to be raised in North America from Nova Scotia to West Florida inclusive. At that time there was only one provincial corps in his Majesty's service (excepting those at Halifax). Afterwards the Queen's Ranger's, DeLancey's Brigade, Jersey Volunteers, &c., &c., were recruited and quartered in various places remote from each other. It was thought expedient that all the corps should be mustered once in two months—this order occasioned much travelling and expense to the muster-master; I was therefore directed to charge extra expenses and indulged in appointing a deputy. The provincial corps have increased so very considerably since, that Sir Wm. Howe was induced to appoint deputies for me in several places. Mr. Turner was appointed at Halifax. On Mr Bridgham's resignation Mr. Chipman was

appointed at New York, and on my being ordered to Philadelphia his appointment was confirmed by Sir Henry Clinton. I was afterwards ordered from Philadelphia and Mr. Mouat was appointed to act during my absence, and on his departure Mr. Bell transacted the business. General Howe also appointed Capt. Martyn, a refugee from New England, to act as deputy muster-master at Rhode Island, and directed me to pay him 5 shillings per day which I have done to 24th August.

As I am under a necessity not only of mustering the provincial Forces six times a year exclusive of the partial musters, but also of adjusting and certifying every abstract for pay of the commissioned, non commissioned and private men, the business of my office has become very important and laborious. At a moderate computation I do not ride less than 260 or 270 miles every muster and I am obliged to keep one person constantly employed in my office. * * *

I shall esteem it a very particular favor if you will present my account and obtain the necessary warrant for that and my pay. I would not have presumed to trouble you on this occasion, but am prevented by sickness from making a personal application.

I am very respectfully,

Your most obed't serv't.

——— Ed. Winslow.

Edward Winslow to Lieut. Col. Innes.*

11 August, 1778.

Sir,—

When anything materially affects the service I conceive it my duty to represent it to you, whether my knowledge of the transaction is acquired by accident, or officially. I have in a free conversation suggested my opinion to you that the Corps of King's Orange Rangers† is at present in a position peculiarly alarming— Feuds & dissensions among the Officers— Mutinies & Desertions among the men. Irregularities in Reports are becoming exceedingly frequent. From what cause or concurrence of causes these circumstances arise I cannot presume to determine.

Whether the present Commandant‡ is not sufficiently experienc'd

*Colonel Innes, as inspector general of the Loyalist regiments, was in a large measure responsible for their efficiency.

†The King's Orange Rangers, a Loyalist corps raised mainly in Orange county, New Jersey, by Lieut. Col. John Bayard. The first enrollment was in December, 1776. The corps was ordered to Nova Scotia, and embarked for Halifax Oct. 27, 1778. It remained in Nova Scotia till the peace in 1783, and was then disbanded at Quaco (or St. Martins), near St. John.

‡Major Samuel V. Bayard, son of Col. John Bayard, is probably here referred to. He was at this time only twenty-one years of age. He settled in Wilmot, N. S., and died there in 1832. Dr. William Bayard of St. John is a grandson.

in military matters? or whether by any other means there is in officers and men a want of that confidence in him which is essential to order & discipline in a new Corps I know not— but from the variety of unhappy events which have of late taken place, I apprehend one or the other. I am sensible that on days of public parade— such as Inspections & Musters—there is not a provincial Corps in his Majesty's service more capable of distinguishing itself by a performance of military exercise & maneuvres than this—nor is there a better body of men.

These considerations increase my concern at the information this day received from Mr. Chipman, who on his way from mustering Col. Emerick's* recruits yesterday learned that on Sunday night last fourteen men, including the non-Commissioned Officers of the Guard, deserted to the enemy from the Ship where they were posted. Of these men the principal part were such as inlisted when the corps was in its infancy & until this have continued faithful & obedient.

An example of this sort, with repeated declarations of other men that they shall avail themselves of the first opp'y to follow it, appears to me sufficiently important to justify my troubling you with this.

I am very respectfully,

Your most obed't h'ble Serv't.

Ed. Winslow.

Edward Winslow to Jonathan Sewall.

[1778.]

The conduct of our dearly beloved cousins at Boston towards Blowers gives a pretty little idea of the present government. It surely deserves the name that used to be so emphatically pronounced by our superlative friend now at Brompton, "most mixtest." A certain quantity of power seems to be dealt out by the grand Congressional Assembly to each province [State.] The division of that among the variety of orders which compose the system makes a monstrous confusion; the consequent little squabbles (as somebody observed to Blowers) must be expected in "a free State."

Blowers tells us many extraordinary stories relative to the improvement of the Bostonians in what a certain lady calls "the liberal arts." Would you realise that the sons of some of our true old charter saints publicly roll in chariots with kept mistresses, and that many of our

*Lieut. Col. Andreas Emerick, a German, who commanded a corps of chasseurs and dragoons, mostly Loyalists, which was organized about April, 1778. See Jones' Loyalist History of New York, vol. ii., p. 82.

former meek and lowly christians, now freed from restraint, are rioting at a great rate. The principal ladies, dear creatures, are not so well pleased with the present assemblies as they were with the former ones. A daughter of Hitchborn the Boat-builder married to Bruce the butcher (who had made his fortune by privateering and been to France) was heard to make comparisons not to the advantage of the present managers. She exclaimed bitterly and loudly that it was not now as in the old times; then they were judicious in the choice of company but now forsooth assemblies were like operas, everybody that could pay was admitted. I wish I could know what were Mrs. Bruce's ideas of operas five years ago—I dare say she thought they were something to eat. * * *

There is no scene that can be exhibited on the face of the earth the observation of which would afford more genuine pleasure to me than a public gathering (in the way of dance & cards) of these new made gentry mixed with broken French Counts, &c. &c.

Ed. Winslow.

Benning Wentworth to Edward Winslow.

London, Berners-Street, Sep. 19, 1778.

Dear Winslow,—

I am exceedingly gratified by your friendly letter of the 23rd of June, and really ashamed that it was not in answer to one from me. I'm censurable indeed for not having addressed you long since, even before I'd seen the Lions and other great curiosities in this vast metropolis, which I've viewed in turn, but as you may have heard of them from an able hand,* and possibly examine them yourself soon, I'll not attempt a description. * * *

I find you still keep up the old game and that your house is yet the most desirable in the country— I congratulate you on your escape from the hands of tyranny; methinks had the ragged rogues felt bold enough to storm your castle, it would have deprived me of so pleasant an epistle from you. Late hours are sometimes useful and a good appearance is half the battle. I want to see Chip's Trap door exceedingly; I'd hazard a voyage in the month of March for a single sight and it would be charming to see it improved upon an alarm.

Pray make my best regards to him, for in truth he is among the first of my friends. * * *

I am dear Sir,

Your attached friend and servant,

B. Wentworth.

*The reference is to Governor Wentworth. Benning Wentworth was a brother of Lady Wentworth; he died Feb. 18th, 1808, in his 53rd year and was at the time Secretary of Nova Scotia.

Jonathan Sewell to Edward Winslow.

Bristol, 20th Sep'r 1778.

Ned,—

For heaven's sake tell me when, where, and how you learnt the art of painting so critically as to make me laugh and cry at the same instant? I never experienced it before, but upon my soul your tragic-comic letter, strange as it may seem, did absolutely produce these two contrary effects upon your humble servant. I read and wept and laughed, and laughed and wept and read in unison through your whole epistle. Such serious heart rending truths told in a style and manner so Cervantic, so Shandyish, so serio-comically, had they been read to an Angel and a Devil must have forced a smile and a tear from both— no wonder then that I, who am a compound of both, should laugh like Democritus while tears flowed plentifully at every line— Your crooked rivers, Chesapeaks, reason & nature of things, and then the "army in high spirits"—the burthen of the song, faith, for three years past—or at least the chorus at the end of every campaign, affords such a picture of three years transactions, that I am almost determined to print it and set every man, woman and child in Great Britain and Ireland and the Town of Berwick upon Tweed to laughing and crying. No faith I'll inclose it to Lord North to be communicated to His Majesty in private—& yet, God bless his good soul, why should I wish to make him cry? It is no fault of his that this cursed rebellion was not suppressed long ago— unless you call mercy and tenderness in the extreme a fault. Well I believe it is in this instance, & so let his Majesty cry a little, it won't hurt him much, considering the accompanyment will be laughing, allegro et il penseroso. His Majesty, heaven long preserve him, is a great lover of music & a shrewd sign that in his composition is too much of the milk of human kindness to suffer him to deal justly with our d——d fanatical, republican, New England, rebellious, ungenerous, ungrateful scoundrels. Oh! how I wish they had for their sovereign for a little time an unfeeling, politic king of Prussia or Empress of Russia with such an army and navy as for the last three years have been marching and counter-marching by land and regattaing by sea, reconnoitring breastworks & peeping into rivers and harbors— "all in high spirits." Under the direction of a mind not entangled with the softer feelings of humanity or something worse, what might not have been effected? would not the Congress have been sent to the Devil long ago? We should have seen Cities, towns, villages and fields destroyed and laid waste till distress had opened the eyes of the deluded and changed the hearts of the deluding, and brought back the surviving remnant to duty and happiness. * * * Boston well fortified was left standing with all its conveniences for Trade and piracy to accommodate

these vipers who first fomented the rebellion. Long Island was taken and the brave conquerors restrained till 15,000 rebels quietly retreated to a place of safety—Philadelphia was taken late in the Autumn only to be given up in the Spring, *cum multis aliis quae nunc prescribere longum est*, and would only serve *renovere dolorem*

Patience! It is mortifying to look back, let us look forward then. I have not lost my anchor of hope yet. I flatter myself the perfidy of France and the obstinacy and haughtiness of the Congress will rouse Britons to vengeance. I have great dependence upon the present Commander in Chief and if Admiral Lord Howe will but give a good account of D'Estaing's French fleet all may be well yet.

Jan'y 4th 1779.

N. B. Thus far had been wrote some months in answer to your first letter. Let me go on a little. * * How prematurely we judge on this side of the water as well as you. O Lord! are we to go on thus all the voyage?* No. Heaven forbid. It must come right some time or other, but God only knows when.

I thank you for all your kindness to Chippy.† I hope I shall live to thank you at Cambridge my lad!

Yours, *de tout*,

Jno. Sewall.

Edward Winslow to Robert McCulloh.

20th Oct'r. 1778.

Sir,—

Mr. Chipman informs me that you are to accompany the provincial-Corps who are at this time under orders for embarkation, and that there is no objection either with Col. Innes or yourself, to your acting as an assistant to me, at which I am gratify'd, & I inclose you such instructions as have been given to the other gent'n who are employed by me. The last of which, (respecting an alphabetical record) you need not comply with, so far as relates to those Corps which embark from this place as I have one already. I only wish you would send me the Muster-Rolls at every period & I'll enter the Recruits, Casualties, &c. Should any new Corps be raised within your muster you will find the advantage of such an alphabetical list—on a wide paper—for at a subsequent muster you can see without any kind of trouble if the same person has been absent two successive musters on any doubtful pretence, and a variety of other conveniences arise from it.

*Referring to the ill success of British arms.

†Ward Chipman had spent several years in Mr. Sewell's family, and was greatly endeared to him. See letter in New Brunswick Magazine, October, 1899, page 183.

Our book is divided into 7 Columns. Names: Casualties at Febry: April; June; Aug't; Oct; Dec'r.

I am so exceedingly ill that I have no expectation of seeing you before your departure, otherwise I should have settled the matter of your pay, &c. Col. Innes has been so obliging as to say that he would do what was necessary about your appointm't. My other deputies receive five shillings a day & (if they are oblig'd to travel), are allow'd for their expenses.

I sincerely wish you health & an agreeable campaign, & am —

Your Friend & Serv't,

Ed. Winslow.

Benjamin Hallowell* to Edward Winslow.

London, 23rd October, 1778.

Dear Sir,—

Since I have been in England, I have often by the way of my brother Robert, had very great pleasure in hearing that you were well and had employments under Government which filled up most of your time, and taking it for Granted that some of the business's must be Lucrative I had the greatest Satisfaction in thinking, that for your many losses and much Suffering, you would after paying the expenses of Management realize something handsome.

Everybody but Scounderals in this country have been much Disappointed in their expectations from your Side of the water. The last as well as former Summer had like to have passed over without anything being done. General Clinton's passage thro' the heart of the Enemies Country with the Remains of Gen. Howe's Army, opposed by the Combined force of the United States has done Sir H. Clinton great Credit. and had not Count D'Estaing arrived off the Coast, and required the attention of the Army and Navy, much more would have been done, and have put an end to the War by Conquest, had not the Commission restrained the Military operations.

Some time since I wrote and requested the favour that you would urge Mr. Isaac Winslow, Executor to his unkle the late Isaac Winslow Esq., who was formerly of Boston and died in N. York, to impower his Attorney here, (who has abundance of Effects in his hands) to Discharge a bond due to me from the Estate of the Deceased with Interest Between £7 & £8 hundred pounds, & having never heard from either of you I

*Benjamin Hallowell was a brother of Robert Hallowell (comptroller of customs) and was himself prominent in the customs' troubles at Boston, which were one of the causes of the American revolution. He was a commissioner of the customs. He sailed for Halifax March 10, 1776, and in July following went to England, where he remained until the close of the war. He died in Upper Canada in 1799, aged 75 years.

suppose that my letter must have miscarried. Therefore I must now renew my request that you will be so good as to deliver the inclosed to the Executor & press him to give orders for the Discharge of the Debt.

I am, Dear Sir, With the Greatest Truth Your faithful Friend, And wish it was in my power to shew my inclination to be of use to you, I am Sure none stands more ready than

Your Much Obliged Humble Serv't

Benj. Hallowell.

Please to direct my letters to Lane & Frazier,

Edward Winslow to Major Barry.

November 13, 1778.

In Penny's* last letter I'm informed "that Major Barry has charged me with negligence in not writing to him," & she is pleased to add in a very pretty sisterly kind of stile—that, "if I do not immediately make a satisfactory apology I am an ungrateful scoundrel & deserve to be hanged." I should almost assent to the propriety of her conclusion & the justice of her sentence if I could not excuse myself by asserting that I've been scarcely able to write my name for the four last months, Bilious fever, agues, & rheumatics, & sundry other disorders (peculiar to this uncivil capricious climate) united in their attack upon me & effectually hindered the performance of any duty social or official. This apology (made as early as possible) will I trust be acknowledged as satisfactory.

The uninteresting events which constantly succeed each other in a garrisoned City, afford a man no chance of amusing his friend at a distance; a detail of 'em would be painful to a writer & would give no pleasure to him who reads.

Our attention has been rous'd at some late movements of the army. The attaching of nine British regiments (viz. 4th, 5, 27, 28, 35, 40, 46, 49, 55th) who under Maj. Gen'l Grant it is agreed are gone to the West Indies, and two Provincial regiments, the Pennsylvania & Maryland Loyalists (who were in the same fleet) to Pensacola. The Expedition commanded by Lt. Col. Campbell furnishes matter for variety of conjectures. It consists of the 71st Regt., two, or part of two Regt's Foreigners, New York Volunteers 300; 1st Delancey's 260; 2nd Do. 200; 3rd of Skinners 300† & a small party of Artillery. The prevailing idea at first was that they were intended for St. Augustine but before their

*Edward Winslow's sister Penelope.

†The Loyalist corps greatly distinguished themselves in the campaigns in the south. Some description of their exploits will be found in Tarleton's Campaigns and in Jones' Loyalist History of New York.

departure, which was delayed by contrary winds, some circumstances took place to alter our opinion. While they lay at the Hook, Light Infantry Companies were formed, and each corps contributed in proportion to its strength,* Sir James Baird to command the whole & such other arrangements were made as sufficiently convinced me that they expected opposition at their landing. It is since confidently asserted that a large body of men in N. Carolina & Georgia had solicited Sr. Henry to send a party into either of these provinces which they would instantly join, but we've been so often amused by this kind of intelligence that I acknowledge my expectations from the report are not very sanguine. Bayard's Corps† reinforces Nova Scotia.

The speculators on Political subjects who now exercise their talents here are either Refugees from the Country, mortify'd with their present situation & murmuring at every public measure, or mere superficial traders collected from every quarter of this strange world. From such men impartial discussions cannot be expected, I listen to 'em because there are none better. The sending Provincial Troops on such services has become matter of consideration among 'em; they have generally censured the measure as unjust & not consistent with the original compact. This assertion arises from an idea that all or most of the provincial corps were Local & intended to defend particular provinces from which they could not be removed but by their own consent. Contracted as this sentiment may at first appear there is some reason for it. Those men who consulted their own immediate advantage and reputation more than the public good gave assurances, for which they had no authority from the Com'r in Chief, and seduced men into the service by promises that they should not be called, on any emergency, from particular places. However as I have the honor of being connected with those troops I'm not puzzled to account for the policy, if unable to applaud the justice of the measure. Most of the recruits enlisted expressly for the term of two years, or during the continuance of the rebellion; there is not wanting among them men of sufficient cunning to suggest that those terms imply an option in the soldier whether he will continue in service after the expiration of the first period; quibbling and dishonorable as this suggestion may seem to a European gentleman; it is a tolerable pretence for an American labourer, and the consequences of it were more serious than you would at first imagine. Discharges have been demanded by those who enlisted early, &c. Were they to remain entirely inactive and in the vicinity of the places where they formerly lived desertions

*A light infantry corps formed in this way was known as the Provincial Light Infantry, and was in 1780 under command of Major Thomas Barclay.

†Bayard's corps was known as the King's Orange Rangers.

would be frequent. The pleasure of gratifying revenge for recent persecutions and injuries, or a flush of romantic military ardor were the inducements to engage. They have been in some measure disappointed in their first expectation and a two years service as soldiers has considerably cooled 'em in the latter. It cannot therefore be impolitic to change their ground.

Those who are actuated by mere caprice I do not pity, but there are many who would with alacrity serve during the rebellion under the same officers who promised to lead them—but from necessity or some other cause, Commanders have beeen changed, men drafted, &c., &c. Coxcombs—Fools—& Blackguards, have been provided as officers in the Provincial Line. The soldiers, unaccustomed to severity, have been made miserable and unhappy. I really am no advocate for indulgencies to soldiers but I cannot think it below the dignity of an officer who wishes well to the service in general to consult the disposition of his men. But enough * * I've been listening this day with great satisfaction to the observations of my friend Blowers, made during his barbarous confinement at Boston, but before I communicate any part of 'em, let me add my grateful acknowledgements to those of that worthy man for your extreme politeness and attention to him. When he left this garrison I should have taken the liberty of mentioning him to you, but I considered that from his connections at Rhode Island you would most probably see him & I was sure that his good qualities could not escape your discernment I am exceedingly gratify'd at finding that you were made acquainted with his plan and that it met your approbation. The harsh treatment which he received during his stay at Boston was most unprecedented & cruel . You may one day hear the particulars from him, I will only tell you that the dampest, dirtiest hole in the common gaol was the place allotted him.

Edward Winslow to Dr. Jeffries.*

[1779.]

As I have reason to suppose that your pursuits as an individual are nearly similar to my own, and that our attachment to this country arises from the same cause, & is fixed on the same principles, I am under no restraint in writing on any subject which concerns it: and tho' my speculations may not be materially useful, there is a satisfaction in com-

*Doctor John Jeffries, of Boston, was born in 1744 and graduated at Harvard in 1763—two years prior to graduation of Edward Winslow. He left Boston at the evacuation in 1776 and went to Halifax. In 1779 he went from thence to England. Afterwards he was appointed surgeon to the British forces at Charlestown and New York. He died in Boston in 1819, aged 75 years.

municating 'em. To gratify your curiosity is among my motives for writing at present, but I acknowledge the principal one is to support, by as fair arguments as I can produce, some opinions which I offered during your friendly visit at Springfield. A long acquaintance with you has confirmed me in the idea that I forfeit your esteem whenever my actions or my serious decisions appear the result of passion, prejudice or interest. That forfeiture is an event which I should deprecate as very unfortunate to myself, and to avoid it I shall endeavor to convince you that I was not influenced by any such principle in the declarations which I frequently made on our favorite subject, The Provincial Troops! I have uniformaly asserted and I most sincerely believe that those Corps if duly encouraged would have been much more respectable in point of numbers than they are at present, and if properly employed would have contributed largely towards suppressing the rebellion in America. These are the facts on which I mean to enlarge.

It seems to be a proposition almost incontrovertible that the original design in the institution of Provincial Corps was "To employ as bene-"ficially as possible such of the Americans, or American residents, as "inclined to serve in a military line; that those who were of consequence "in the country might exert their influence in procuring recruits for the "service of Government." In this light the plan was viewed by the King's friends assembled at Boston when it was first suggested by the venerable Gen'l Ruggles;* and I have not forgotten with what alacrity the idea was adopted by many of the most respectable characters among the refugees. Such, however, was the situation of the British army, their distress for provisions & other perplexing circumstances, that an effort to raise Recruits there would have been impolitic and must have proved ineffectual. 'Tis unnecessary for my present purpose to take any notice of the Regiment called The Emigrants† as that is now numbered in the

*General Timothy Ruggles, born in Massachusetts in 1711, a graduate of Harvard in 1732. He attained the rank of brigadier general during the French war. He was an energetic Loyalist. After the peace in 1783 he settled at Wilmot, N. S., where he died in 1795 at the age of 85 years. Benjamin Marston (under date Dec. 13, 1784) writes in his journal: "Arrived at General Ruggles. "spent two days with that brave, worthy old man, who at three score and ten "is beginning the world anew with as much activity as if he were but one score "and ten." See biography of General Timothy Ruggles by Henry Stoddard Ruggles of Wakefield, Mass.; also Sabine's Loyalists of the American Revolution.

†The Young Royal Highland Emigrants were organized by General Gage's order to Lieut. Col. Allan McNab, June 14, 1775. The men were recruited at Quebec, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, and (later) at Newfoundland. The second battalion of the regiment, commanded by Major John Small, was stationed in Nova Scotia during the war. The corps was very efficient, and was on Dec. 25, 1778, included in the British establishment as the 84th regiment of foot.

Line; nor need I mention The Fencible Americans* who were principally recruited at New-Foundland—or Legge's Corps, which is yet inconsiderable and has been mostly at Halifax. Passing these by, I shall attempt to shew from other instances how much the original intention has been perverted and to enumerate some of the discouragements which some of these regiments have labored under. This I confess is a task peculiarly painful because it obliges me to take a retrospective view of some of Sir William Howe's administration—an administration which no real friend to the British Government can look back upon without experiencing extreme chagrine.

The first provincial recruits that joined the army was a party called The New York Volunteers. They were collected about the North River before the Troops appeared in that quarter and (with their leaders Grant & Campbell, half-pay officers, who had settled in that country and acquired property and influence) they escaped to the King's Ships at Sandy-Hook. After some months they were forwarded to Halifax, where they arrived a few days before the embarkation of the Troops. Here they were reviewed and formed into two companies & Grant & Campbell were appointed Captains. At that time it was urged that no provision was made or fund established from which these unfortunate men could be cloathed or accoutred, and they embarked with the Troops with only the wretched remnant of the apparel in which they had escaped from the rebels six or eight months before. In this distress, they landed at Staaten Island. A few small articles were bestowed on them while there, but nothing to relieve them essentially. On the famous 27th of August, 1776, when the rebels were subdued on this island, the two companies served together and distinguished themselves in such a manner as to extort the most particular compliments from the Commander-in-Chief. Almost naked & extremely feeble from a long series of fatigues, they absolutely did not murmur, but appeared to realize that the rebels of the country were the original causes of all their misfortunes, and this consideration whetted their resentment to a great degree of keenness. But the inattention to this meritorious little party (altho' it had not the effect which might naturally have been expected on the members who

*The Royal Fencible Americans were organized in Nova Scotia in June 1775, and by the close of that year 300 men were enlisted. The majority were by birth Europeans or Loyalists from the old colonies; many also were recruited in Newfoundland. A considerable portion of the corps settled in Charlotte county in 1783. During the war the garrisons at Fort Cumberland and Fort Howe were supplied principally by this regiment.

†Governor Legge's order for raising this corps (the Loyal Nova Scotia Volunteers) was issued Oct. 16, 1775, but in April following it only numbered about 60 men. However, the number enlisted on Feb. 1, 1780, was 568. At the peace, in 1783, many of the corps settled at Ship Harbor, N. S.

composed it) was matter of serious concern to others. Sensible men who were zealots in the King's cause had anticipated the most cordial welcome & ample support to such as should join the troops. They were exceedingly disconcerted at the treatment of these Volunteers. It was not credited that a General whose command was so extensive could possibly want the power to furnish common necessaries for 200 men, if his disposition toward them was favorable, especially as it was known that
* * * *

[Remainder of this letter is missing.]

Edward Winslow to Lord Rawdon.*

New York, 12th January, 1779.

My Lord:—

On the 15th July, 1776, I was appointed by Sir Wm. Howe Muster-Master-Gen'l of all His Majesty's Provincial Forces, raised and to be raised within the district of North America, under his command, and was informed by him that I was to receive ten shillings a day and an allowance for extra expenses.

At the time of my appointment only one Provincial Corps, the York Volunteers existed here, but before the expiration of the first year, warrants were issued for raising several brigades and regiments and the recruits for them were scattered through the various parts of the Garrisons then held by the King's Troops. It was judged necessary to muster them all, once in two months and to certify the concurrence of the abstracts and Subsistence accounts with the Muster Rolls, previous to their being paid. On the appointment of an Inspector General† I consented to continue that part of the duty and exhibited an account for the expenses I had incurred and for the payment of a Deputy for the first year, up to August 1777, which was approved and paid. In the course of the last year I was ordered to Rhode Island and Philadelphia, and as Provincial Corps were forming in both those places, Sir Wm. Howe was pleased to appoint Deputies there. Those Deputies have been paid by myself. When at Philadelphia I presented accounts up to March in the second year, but was desired to postpone them till the year expired. I was immediately ordered to New York, soon after which Sir Henry Clinton took the command. At the expiration of the year in August last, I delivered my accounts for my deputies and expenses to Capt. Smith

*Lord Rawdon was intimately associated with the Loyalist regiments. He commanded a corps known as the Volunteers of Ireland, raised in America in 1778, which rendered gallant service and was mustered as a Loyalist corps. Lord Rawdon was adjutant general of the Loyalist forces.

†Lieut. Colonel Alexander Innes.

and requested they might be presented: after they had been some time in his hands I was informed it was necessary for me to deliver them personally to the Commander in Chief. I was then, and for two or three months afterwards, confined to my bed with a most tedious and dangerous fever and am now wholly unable to attend at Headquarters. During all this time I have been able but twice to go to New York. Once the Commander in Chief was absent, at the other time I was informed he was so particularly engaged that he could not be seen.

To avoid giving more trouble than this application necessarily requires, I have desired Mr. Chipman to attend your Lordship's leisure for an answer.

I am with the highest respect, my Lord,
Your Lordship's most obed't & most humble serv't,
Ed. Winslow.

Hugh Mackay Gordon* to Edward Winslow.

Pensacola 20th March, 1779.

My dear Sir,—

I am happy to inform you that I have at last arrived at my Banishment. We had but a narrow escape upon our Passage from New York to Jamaica our Convoy having parted with us a week after being out. However on the 30th Nov'r the Transports arrived safe at Kingston, where we remained one month owing to the alarming state of the island of St. Domingo. I assure you I spent a very agreeable time. It is a pleasant and most plentiful country, but it never was known so sickly for 32 years past. A number of Provincial Officers were taken ill of most violent fever—Capt'n Grafton Dulany† & Doct'r Kidd died after a few days illness. You may easily conceive what a change it is coming from a pleasant plentiful country into a wretched one, & I may say with safety I am now in the worst part of the world—nothing to be had but lean Beef and Pork except Poultry which is extravagantly dear, & it is so d——d hot fish stinks before it can be boiled. The only thing this pleasant place abounds in is a beautiful white sand which circulates freely It gives me pleasure to inform you that General Campbell has

*Hugh Mackay Gordon at this time was Edward Winslow's deputy at Pensacola. He went to Halifax at the peace in 1783, and there the intimacy with Winslow was further increased. Gordon rose rapidly in his profession, was a colonel in the army in 1807, and in 1815 a major general. He proved a good friend to Colonel Winslow. See letter of Winslow to S. S. Blowers of 7th June, 1806.

†Captain Grafton Dulany in 1777 organized a company for the Maryland Loyalists. He died Dec. 23, 1778. Dr. Alex. Kidd of the same corps died Nov. 21, 1778.

appointed me both Deputy Muster Master General and Deputy Inspector of Provincials in West Florida & I conceive myself much obliged for your attention.

As Lieut. Col. [Wm.] Allen's Corps* was the first disembarked I mustered them on the 30 Jan'y. Copies of the Muster Rolls are enclosed which I took some pains to get correct & I hope you will find 'em so. Lieut. Col. Chalmer's Corps† was not mustered until the 22nd Feb'y owing to the number ill of the Small Pox. You will observe by the Muster Rolls enclosed this disorder carried off a great many, which induced General Campbell to disperse one Company agreeable to the enclosed order—for the propriety of this measure see the Strength of the Companies.

There is a dispute concerning the Rank of Lt. Col's. Allen & Chalmers, it has been referred to General Campbell who will not settle but conceives Allen has the preference. You must know who has the preference & I am sure, altho' Allen's not on the spot, you will endeavor to have justice done him. Chalmers goes to New York, & I believe principally with a view to get the Rank, for fear those Corps should be thrown together. For my part I ought to have some knowledge and I must confess I have no doubt but Allen should be the eldest which I told General Campbell.

Enclosed I send you monthly returns & have only to beg you may send me such further Directions as you shall think necessary.

Pray make my best Compliments to Mr. Anderson, N. & W. Coffin and all my old Friends, and tell them not to come to Pensacola.

Believe me to be, Most sincerely Yours,

Hugh Mackay Gordon.

General Prescott's Orders for the Bedford Expedition.

Instructions for Edward Winslow Esquire hereby appointed to command a detachment of Provincial Forces and Refugees ordered on a Secret Expedition: Head Quarters, Newport, March 30th, 1779.‡

The Transports with the Troops & one Privateer (the General Leslie) are to proceed to Clark's Cove, while the other Privateers proceed up the

*Lieut. Col. William Allen's commission was dated Oct. 14, 1777. He was a son of the chief justice of Pennsylvania. The Allen family were celebrated Loyalists. At the peace, in 1783, he went to England. He was a grantee of Parr Town.

†Lieut. Col. James Chalmers' commission as commander of the Maryland Loyalists bears date Oct. 14, 1777—same date as Col. Wm. Allen's commission. At the close of the war he went to England. His corps settled in the parish of St. Mary's, York County, N. B.

‡An account of this expedition will be found in Macy's History of Nantucket Island.

River of Bedford by the West Channel, leaving Palmer's Island between them and the Fort. It is recommended that Mr. Leonard* go with the Privateers & that he prevent any irregular landing of the sailors & others until a communication is effected. The Troops to disembark at Clark's Cove; the Transports & "General Leslie" privateer will remain in the Cove until they receive orders from the Commandant of the Troops. The Troops first disembarked will instantly begin to destroy the Bridge at the Head of the Cove leaving proper sentinels at a convenient Post near this Pass when the Troops have moved from it.

Captain DePeyster† with fifty men to move forward toward the Town, take possession of the wharves & hinder all communication between the town & the rebel shipping, the remainder of the party to hold possession of the hill behind the town, which commands it; this position to continue until it is evident that all the Rebel property is secured by the Privateers. Such men as are well acquainted with shipping to be put on board those Rebel Vessels that are nearest the wharves so as to navigate them out. After having destroyed all buildings improved as Barracks, store houses, and every public deposit, the Troops will embark with all possible expedition to return to this Post from which to be employed in such other service as may be thought necessary.

The success of this attempt wholly depending on the quickness & regularity with which it is executed, it is therefore most strictly enjoined that no stores are broke open & Plundered or any other Depredations suffered which may retard the movements or create disorder.

The order of debarkation to be as follows:—Capt. DePeyster with the Grenadiers & Gov'r Wentworth's Volunteers‡ to land first, afterwards the Refugees. This order to be reversed at embarking. It will be understood that when the Grenadiers are in front, Governor Went-

*George Leonard of Massachusetts was second in command of the Associated Refugees. In 1783 he was one of the agents employed in the locating of the Loyalists on the River St. John. He was a member of the council of New Brunswick. In the legislature, as a magistrate, colonel of militia, and in the execution of the very difficult office of superintendent of trade and fisheries he was active and fearless. As a churchman and as a member of the board of commisssioners of the New England company for civilizing and Christianizing the Indians he was equally energetic. Throughout his life George Leonard was a great friend and admirer of Edward Winslow. He died at Sussex Vale in 1826.

†Abraham DePeyster commanded the Grenadier company of the King's American Regiment, in which his commisssion is dated Dec. 13, 1776. He came to New Brunswick in 1783, and was a grantee of Parr Town. In 1785 he was sheriff of Sunbury county, residing at Maugerville. He became provincial treasurer in 1792 and removed to St. John. He died at his residence opposite the site of the present Custom House in Prince William street, Feb. 19, 1798, aged 46 years. For further particulars see Lawrence's Foot Prints, page 55.

‡Governor Wentworth's Volunteers were organized about the year 1777 under the patronage of John Wentworth, late governor of New Hampshire. The members of the corps were mostly Massachusetts men of good standing and education. Many of them afterwards obtained commissions and were posted to other corps, notably the King's American Dragoons.

worth's Volunteers will be in the rear, the Refugees always in the centre. Captains Goldsbury & Martin will keep their companies as distinct as possible. The future reputation & dearest interests of the Refugees depending on the success of this exertion it is not doubted that regularity, sobriety & the most implicit obedience will invariably be observed.

At all events Captain DePeyster's Company is to return with proper convoy to Rhode Island immediately after the Party leaves Bedford. The Privateers that convoy the Transports will be furnished with private signals. Mr. Leonard will also have private signals. Some rebels of importance or in Public offices are to be bought off.

Should it be found unadvisable from the apparent Force of the enemy or other causes, such as contrary winds or extreme badness of weather, to pursue the Enterprize it must then be expedient to return; Easy conquests being the object in view & not a contention with a too superior Force.

R'd Prescott.

Col. Winslow's Report of the Bedford Expedition.

Newport, 6th April, 1779.

Sir,—

I have the honor to report to you my arrival at this place with the Grenadier Company of the King's American Regiment*. Our attempt on Bedford failed of success by want of wind to carry our vessels into the harbour—the Rebels had observ'd us off & had collected in force to oppose our landing & had manned a fort which commanded the entrance of the Harbour & made various other preparations.

Their great superiority of numbers, strong positions & other material circumstances rendered an attack upon them too hazardous, especially as General Prescott had so pointedly ordered me not to contend with superior force & suggested that in the infant state of our party "easy conquests ought to be our object." I therefore reluctantly relinquished the enterprize, and as I was instructed to alarm the coast & harrass the enemy as much as possible I proceeded with the party down the Sound as far as the town of Falmouth, against which Mr. Leonard drew up the Privateers in a line and kept up a fire for two hours directly at the houses, while Capt. DePeyster of the King's American Regt., and Capt. Murray of Gov'r Wentworth's Vols., with a party of about forty men (which was all we

*The warrant for raising this corps was issued about Dec. 11, 1776, at least this is the date of Colonel Edmund Fanning's commission. The men of the regiment belonged to Rhode Island, Connecticut and New York. A troop of cavalry was included in the corps. At the peace, in 1783 the King's American Regiment settled between Pokiok and Eel River, on the west side of the River St. John.

could embark at the time, having no flat boats) made a show of landing. The Rebels alarmed by the firing at Bedford had thrown up a very long breastwork from behind which they fired without effect at the party who coasted along the shore. As there was no object in view at this place beyond harrassing the Rebels the party returned to the Vessels without receiving any other injury than two men very slightly wounded.

This expedition will be productive of good consequences exclusive of effectually alarming the whole coast from point Judith to Hyannas & even the whole of Cape Cod, we had frequent opportunities of conversing with the inhabitants of Eliz'h Islands, & have reason to apprehend that the arguments of Major General Gray has caused a very sincere conversion in them.

I am exceedingly gratified at an opportunity of testifying that every individual of the party discovered the most extreme ardor, and I am perfectly convinced that it will be more my duty to check than to encourage them in their future operations. I am particularly indebted to Major Upham* for his advice & assistance on all occasions.

I left the command of the Refugees with Capt. Murray who has already exhibited most convincing proofs of a spirit of enterprize & sound judgment. They are to proceed to Nantucket and deprive of the means of commerce a nest of traders who have carried on a trade to France and who import a variety of articles necessary for the Rebels. I have no doubt of their success in this attempt.

Ed. Winslow, Lt. Col. Refugees.

Regimental Orders of the Corps of Loyal Associated Refugees.

Quarters, Newport, April 11, 1779.

Captain Murray, Captain Goldsbury & Captain Martin, with the officers & men of their respective companies, to assemble and embark at 5 o'clock this afternoon. This detachment to be furnished with Sixty Rounds of Ammunition and to take with them their Blankets and provisions for two days.

*Major Josnua Upham of Brookfield, Mass., graduated at Harvard in 1763. He begun his military career in conjunction with his old friend Edward Winslow on this occasion. He was afterwards with Benedict Arnold in his attack on New London, Connecticut. In 1781 he was deputy inspector general of Refugees at Lloyd's Neck on Long Island. Here with the aid of the undisciplined Refugees he repulsed the attack of some French marauders. In March, 1781, he was major in the King's American Dragoons, and in September, 1782, aide-de-camp to the commander in chief, Sir Guy Carleton. He settled in New Brunswick at the peace and became one of the judges of the supreme court and a member of council. His death took place in England Nov. 1, 1808, at the age of 67 years. His mission to England was to secure an increase in the salary of the judges, and in this he was successful.

Captain Murray the Commanding Officer of this detachment will wait on Colonel Fanning,* the Commandant of the Corps of Refugees, when the party are embarked, to receive his orders and Instructions. The Transports and armed vessels for this service will be furnished by Mr. Leonard the navy agent and contractor for the Associated Refugees.

[The embarkation was postponed for certain reasons until the 23rd April.]

Quarters, Newport, 23 April, 1779.

The whole Corps of associated Refugees to embark at 6 o'clock this afternoon on board the armed vessels "General Leslie" and "George" and a transport brig. Captain Murray will take the command and when the party is embarked will report to Colonel Fanning their number and receive his Orders and Instructions for carrying into execution the particular service recommended by the Board of Directors and approved by Major General Prescott the Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Forces on this Island. Mr. Loring† the surgeon will go on this service with the proper materials and preparations for such an expedition which may probably be performed in forty eight hours.

[Note.] On the 14th May, 1779, a party of 167 Loyal Associated Refugees under command of Capt. Daniel Murray started with the design of making a second attempt on Bedford, but learning of the presence of a superior force they took post at Tarpaulin Cove and asked leave to establish themselves there.

The Associated Refugees under Winslow had on June 10, 1779, captured 2 brigs, 2 schooners, 1 sloop, 10 boats with a considerable quantity of goods of various kinds and 35 prisoners, among them some persons of considerable note. Also 124 horses, 138 cattle, 1843 sheep, 11 hogs, 642 lambs, 38 calves. On Sept. 16, 1779, Winslow reports that in the subsequent excursions 13 prizes were taken by the Refugee vessels, 3 of them armed vessels, and that the account of sales of property taken from the Rebels by the Agent's certificate amounted to the sum of £23,427.18.6 sterling. In June and September the Associated Refugees seem to have

*Colonel Edmund Fanning of North Carolina graduated at Yale College. He was gazetted colonel Dec. 11, 1776, and raised the King's American Regiment, toward which large sums were subscribed. (See Sabine's Loyalists). He went to Halifax at the close of the war, and on Sept. 23, 1783, was appointed Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia. In 1786 he became Lieutenant Governor of Prince Edward Island, which position he held nineteen years. He continued to advance in military rank—was major general in 1793, lieutenant general in 1799 and general in 1808. He died in London 1818.

†Benjamin Loring, M. D., of Boston. In 1783 he went from New York to Shelburne. His losses in consequence of his loyalty were estimated at £3,000.

been under Col. Winslow's direction, his superior officer and Commandant being Lt. Col. Richard Hewlett* of DeLancey's 3rd Battalion, then stationed on Long Island.

The Associated Refugees included Governor Wentworth's Volunteers under Capt. Murray, a detachment of Colonel Wightman's Loyal New Englanders under Captain Zebedee Terry, and Captain Martin's Corps. The Party sailed from Newport to Lloyd's Neck, Long Island, in June, where they were joined by Capt. Bonnel's party with their whale boats. Two men, Smith and Sears, were taken on board the Royal Charlotte by Winslow to act as guides. The expedition proceeded to Norwalk where it arrived in the early morning of June 30th but whether it accomplished anything of consequence does not appear.

In September 1779, an expedition was undertaken to Martha's Vineyard, and in the Orders of the 9th of that month, issued on board the Royal Charlotte, the words occur, "It is Lieut. Col. Winslow's particular request that the Loyal Refugees will exert themselves to prevent every species of depredations from being committed on the Inhabitants of Martha's Vineyard and the other Elizabeth Islands; it being his as well as Mr. Leonard's determination to treat all those defenceless people and their families with consideration. Countersign from Lieut. Col. Hewlett, Winslow." It is altogether probable that the Associated Refugees accompanied General Tryon† in his expedition in July, 1779, in which many of the Connecticut towns were ravaged and Norwalk and Fairfield destroyed.

Edward Winslow to Ward Chipman.

13th June, 1779.

Dear Chip,—I catch every transient moment to write you. I yesterday closed a formal letter introducing Mr. Marston. * * *

As to my finances, d—n them, my expences since I've been here have been less than they ever were in the same period of time. Could I help when I met my precious old father and sister giving them everything I had and more too? Heaven forbid.

*Lieut. Col. Richard Hewlett of Hampstead, Long Island. He rendered good service as commander of the 3rd battalion of DeLancey's brigade at Satauket, where, in 1777, he repulsed the attack of General Parsons. See Jones' Loyalist History of New York, vol. 1, p. 182. He contributed much to the security of Long Island during the war. At the peace he came to St. John in the month of September, 1783, as senior officer commanding the British and Loyalist troops that were to be disbanded on the river. He settled at Hampstead, Queens County, near Long Island, and died there in 1789.

†Major General William Tryon of North Carolina filled the office of governor (the last royal governor with one exception). He was transferred to New York, where he was governor from July, 1771, to 1780. He was commander in chief of the Loyalist forces. Went to England at the peace in 1783.

Oh ! for the pen of a Sterne to describe a scene on Prudence Island† Figure to yourself the venerable old man sitting on a rock watching the boat which held his only son while it beat against the wind for an hour. Suppose him collecting all his fortitude, strengthening himself by anticipation and struggling against a variety of feelings tender and distressing. See him wiping his brow, which alternately clouded and cleared.

In his pocket were papers giving a particular account of my death and burial, etc. As I approached the shore he pulled—literally pulled (I could not change the word for any other in the world) the paper from his pocket—looked at it—looked at me; then he cried, "My God, he died !"

When I landed—sound and strong, my father fell on his face. I should have deserved everlasting damnation if I could have spoke one word. No, no, I boast, I glory, that I could not speak. I flung myself by my father on the ground: it was his business to begin. There was a spark of something like courage left in his breast and he kindled it—mine was all lost. "I am glad, I am glad," says he, "to see you my boy," and down he fell again, the spark then quenched on the verge of expiration—[Major] Barry, who had been motionless, and stared with silent astonishment at the loving fulness of our sensibility, by a violent exertion of strength, dictated by humanity aroused us. There were present rebel officers and rebel soldiers, King's officers and King's soldiers, sailors of both denominations and negroes—not a heart among them that did not melt. All formalities usual with flags was forgotten, every man turned from us, walked different ways and were profoundly silent. By degrees my father's countenance brightened, and flashes of gratitude darted from his eyes in rapid succession. He did not trouble Heaven with words, but the throne of Grace was never ornamented with a purer effusion of thanks. The poor girl, my sister, had fainted and recovered, and fainted again. I summoned every power to comfort her, and at length prevailed on her to speak.

I afforded them every possible comfort and consolation. The old man declared he was happy and when we parted he only shook his head and pronounced "God bless my son."

Associated Refugees.

June 19, 1779.

Winslow writes :—"Fifty of the Associated Refugees under my command are now embarked as marines on board their own armed vessels to assist in conveying his Majesty's troops from Rhode Island to New York.

*Prudence Island is an island in Narraganset Bay, Rhode Island.

When we have performed this service I propose to indulge the party in making some incursions in the colony of Connecticut. Hitherto we have been successful beyond our most sanguine expectations, having had the satisfaction of contributing essentially to the relief of his Majesty's Troops in this garrison and of greatly distressing the rebels by our depredations and continued alarms."

Rev. Edward Winslow to Colonel Winslow.

August, 1779.

Dear Sir,—

At the request of Rev. Mr. Leaming of Norwalk I take the liberty to trouble you with this to engage your friendly influence and offices towards his recovering sundry parts of his property which he missed after the late conflagration,* and apprehends may have been taken by some persons under your authority who may be willing to restore them if properly notified of the Principles & condition of the Proprietor—

A number of Table Cloths & Sheeting—number uncertain.

A large Turkey Carpet. A Mahogany Tea Table.

Eight Feather Beds. A Gown & Cassock & Suit of Cloaths, (Broad Cloth) w'ch Mr. Leaming† heard were seen on board the Ship Prince of Wales, & Sundry other Articles of his Wearing Apparel.

Two setts of Bed Curtains, Chintz.

All Mrs. Leaming's Wearing Apparel & Linnen.

Seven pairs of large Rose Blankets, & a Bed Quilt.

There are many other articles which Mr. Leaming cannot recollect. If of all, or any of them, you could obtain tidings and would be so good as to take any measure that they might be recovered, Mr. Leaming would be extremely obliged and it would be adding a particular favour to the many instances of Friendship which will ever bind me to acknowledge myself, Dear Sir,

Yr. affect. & much obliged Friend & Serv't.

Edw'd Winslow.‡

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*Norwalk was burned July 12, 1779. Among those who retired with the Royal Army were my own ancestor, Silas Raymond, and family, and many other Loyalists. Silas Raymond is said to have set fire to his own house saying that "the miserable rebels should not enjoy his property."—W. O. R.

†Rev. Jeremiah Leaming was the first choice of the clergy as Bishop of Connecticut. The state of his health forbade his acceptance of the office, and Rev. Dr. Seabury was then chosen.

‡The Rev. Edward Winslow was born in Boston and graduated at Harvard in 1741. He was rector of Braintree, Mass. He was driven from his parish on account of his loyalty, and about 1777 retired to New York. He died there the year after this letter was written, at the age of 59 years, and is buried beneath St. George's church. He was related to Colonel Edward Winslow, but older by a quarter of a century.

Winslow & Leonard to Nantucket Committee.*

Holmes Hole, 20th Sept., 1779.

Gent'n;—

We have read the extraordinary paper or memorial presented by you as a committee from Nantucket, and we must in the most explicit terms inform you that we do not consider it a satisfactory explanation of your conduct, but as a specimen of that duplicity and mean evasion which are the distinguishing characteristic of the people of this country.

Our letter to the Inhabitants was dictated by friendship and was forwarded at the express request of some of your principal men who represented to us, "That in the present state of public matters, the "Magistrates have not a due influence and that the only power now in "being at Nantucket is that which men of property exert over their "immediate dependants." To aid those men in their exertions, to increase their influence and thereby oblige the Town were our motives, and we expected our letter would have been productive of some candid acknowledgement of past crimes and an absolute promise to avoid similar ones in future. Nor had we an idea that all the cunning of the island would have been summoned to produce such an ambiguous monster as your memorial. Disappointed in this respect—it is incumbent on us to prove the charges exhibited against you in justification of the threats contained in our letter. And first to prevent any mistakes, you will observe that we hold ourselves amenable to our superiors for all our transactions, and we are perfectly satisfied from our own experience that Insults and Indignities offered us will be a sufficient apology for our executing vengeance against any people under Heaven. * * *

[The letter goes on to advance proofs of the following charges;—(a) "Rescuing the Sloop Nancymond from our Letters of Marque," (b) "That you aid his Majesty's Enemies," (c) "That you molest & disturb his Majesty's servants." Among the statements made in support of these charges Winslow & Leonard aver that "The Inhabitants (Nantucket) do constantly go off in whale boats from the back of the Island on the appearance of rebel vessels and give intelligence to them of Ships of War (British) or other cruisers in Boston Bay or the Vineyard Sound, and by this means effectually prevent the property of the Rebels from being intercepted. They persevere in their Trade with the French West Indies & thereby afford considerable supplies to the Rebels & this is done notwithstanding you conditioned with Sir George Collier to discontinue that Trade on his granting you permission to purchase those goods in the

*The Nantucket committee comprised Messrs. Folger, Rotch, Starbuck and Tupper.

King's garrisons at Newport & New York." Winslow & Leonard further aver "that no King's officer, friend to Government, or suspicious Person dare make his appearance on your island, but that such persons are under a necessity of concealing themselves as cautiously as if among their avowed enemies—Witness D'cr. Tupper Jun'r., Mr. Thaxter & Mr. Barker who have been lately in that predicament.]

When ships of War have made their appearance at your island—awed by their power you have shewn respect & as much politeness as you are capable of, but we defy you to produce any other instance.

Having finished our proofs which we suppose are ample to establish every fact by us advanced—We must as briefly as possible take notice of your apology for the first transaction, and we are under a necessity of observing that we consider it as an insult offered to our understandings and as a trick too frequently played in America to pass current at present. The blame of the proceeding is lay'd on "lads" who are supposed to have done the mischief without orders and of course the Town is not answerable, and in imitation of that metropolis of mobs, Boston, you resolve and vote that you are perfectly peaceable, that you disavow all hostile proceedings! But Gentlemen—can you possibly imagine that your very frivolous pretence is a sufficient satisfaction for personal injuries, or that your peaceable resolves are in any degree a recompence for waifing an armed vessel & cargo, five hundred muskets & other war instruments, out of the hands of his Majesty's friends into those of his rebellious subjects?

Your accusations against Capt. Duggan are too serious to pass entirely unnoticed. We say that the unruly behaviour of his sailors was subsequent to the loss of the prize; he acknowledges that, irritated by such provocation, they were in some degree irregular, but that every injury done by them was instantly repaired either by ample recompence or punishment of the delinquents, and we have declared & do repeat that if the Inhabitants have suffered by any manner of persons under our command that we are ready to make immediate restitution. It is our duty to assure you that in future we shall resent every Indignity offered, nor will the simplicity of your language or the speciousness of your excuses be a satisfaction for the hostility of your actions.

We are Gent'n Your H'ble Servants,

Ed. Winslow—

for himself & G. Leonard.

Edward Winslow to Colonel Fanning.

Newport, Rhode Island, 25th Sept'r, 1779.

Sir,—I have the honor to report to you that in pursuance of the plan agreed on at New York, I on the 6th inst. embarked with Governor Went-

worth's Volunteers on board the armed vessel under command of Mr. Leonard, and on the 9th we arrived at the harbor of Holmes Hole in the island of Martha's Vineyard. The Rebels on the coast had (as usual) been informed of our preparations, and on our approach were in motion all the distance from Seconet-point to Hyannas. The militia of the three counties of Plymouth, Bristol and Barnstaple were on the march, and the artillery moved from the town of Plymouth towards Falmouth. Finding that Martha's Vineyard was our object, the Troops & cannon were countermanded, and they only reinforced the two posts of Bedford and Falmouth. At the former they stationed 250 men, at the latter 300 men with three Field-pieces.

As it was your advice, as well as my inclination, to endeavor at conciliating the affections of the Inhabitants of these Islands by every means in my power, and at the same time not to insist upon the performance of any service from them which might subject them to the resentment of the rebels after my departure, I immediately forwarded the Requisition No. 1 of the inclosed papers, accompanied by the Letter No. 2—the one for their justification for coming on board, the other as a proof of our friendly intentions. * * * *

Before I proceed further in my journal of occurrences I shall beg leave to observe that the Inhabitants of the Elizabeth Islands are now in a predicament peculiar to themselves. Their situation is such as to admit of a free and constant intercourse with the people of the main, while their interviews with those of the King's service are accidental, seldom & short. Reports favorable to the Rebels are circulated with extreme assiduity, prejudices are imbibed and—for want of authentic intelligence—egregious mistakes are made relative to important facts. At the commencement of hostilities they engaged with reluctance, because they were exceedingly exposed to depredations from either party, but at length by the strategems of the rebels and their immediate influence they were seduced into the commission of open acts of treason, and they continued in arms against the King until they were deprived of them by Maj. Gen. Grey in Sept'r, 1778. He also obliged them to furnish considerable supplies for the King's Garrisons. By this exertion of the British Troops they were not only more confirmed in their ideas of danger, but they were also furnished with a sufficient apology for remaining in a state of neutrality & peace.

* * * * * * *

Conscious that in various respects they had deviated from their agreement with General Grey, they expected severity from us. A conduct directly opposed to such expectation disappointed them agreeably & procured us their confidence; so that from being timid, ambiguous & cunning they became free, explicit, & in some instances ingenuous. Upon the re-

turn of their committees the Inhabitants of the several towns assembled and without a dissentient voice, voted to supply us as far as they were able and their laborers and teams were immediately employed in procuring wood, &c.

On the 10th I was informed that Mr. Welsh, purser of the Restoration, being on shore on duty was taken by a party of Rebels from Falmouth As Welsh was a native of Boston & a very obnoxious character (having been an active Revenue officer) I did not think it improbable that he might receive indignities, but I was convinced by an answer to a letter of Mr. Leonard's from the commanding officer at Falmouth, that the Rebels meant to adopt a different kind of policy with us, and that Welsh was favored with particular indulgencies. I this day landed with Capt. Murray's party and was received by the inhabitants with as much civility as could be expected. Such articles as we wanted for our immediate consumption, were brought to us, and we paid for them in commodities useful to them. The scattering among them a few articles of British manufacture had not a bad effect—it revived their old predilection and produced comparisons between British & French commodities not favorable to the latter.

The 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th [September] I spent in reconnoitring the grounds in different parts of the island, attended by some of the principal inhabitants who began to give us new proofs of their hospitality and readiness to oblige us—they also made proposals to sell us their stock of cattle, poultry, &c., for which we engaged to pay them in tea, sugar, coffee, &c. Mr. Leonard appropriated a small vessel (the Fancy) to receive those articles and in two days she was loaded with poultry.

15th [Sept.] I received the following information, "That the General "Assembly of Massachusetts Bay continue to assess the Inhabitants of "Martha's Vineyard, and that the Rate Bills for the present year are now "in the hands of Benjamin Pease, jun'r, "who is appointed collector of taxes." [The letter goes on to state that certain persons on the island were serving on board armed vessels in the service of the rebels and had taken prizes; also that the pilots warned the vessels approachng in the offing of the presence of the squadron under Winslow and Leonard preventing their capture.]

Mr. Leonard * * ordered Capt. Baxter of the Leslie to take into custody the Collector of Taxes & to bring him & his Rate Bills to Holmes Hole, and he also issued a proclamation forbidding all pilots at their peril from pursuing a practice so detrimental to the service. Those who were concerned in the capture of Bell's Vessel instantly fled to the main—others who had been engaged in privateers surrendered & by way of atonement entered our service. The Collector and his Rate Bills were brought and

we have reason to apprehend that the order, relative to the pilots, answered the purpose intended.

The Inhabitants were exceedingly gratified at the proceedings against the Collector. * * * *

I made a public declaration to them that as the taxes were assessed for the express purpose of levying war against the King, it would be considered as a most presumptious act in any person who should pay any proportion for that purpose. They requested that they might be permitted to represent this matter to the General Assembly. We consented that Mr. Atheam should pass to Boston on that business. He communicated our threats, &c., and obtained a temporary exemption. * * On Atheams return he communicated to some of the principal men in the County of Barnstaple the indulgencies which he had obtained from the General Court. They warmly resented the partiality and declared that as their situations on the peninsula of Cape Codd were equally exposed to our depredations they would apply for the same privileges. * * We have this day the pleasure of hearing that our vessels at Old Town had taken a prize from the West Indies laden with sugar, molasses & coffee.

On the 16th I received the declaration of Bosswell & Bradshaw relative to the sloop Nancymond.

I refer you to enclosures No. 12, 13, 14, 15 for all the subsequent transactions relative to Nantucket, and will only add that the committee after carefully attending to the proofs alleged in my letter, begged leave to withdraw their memorial and apologies and desired to throw themselves on our mercy and that we would make as favorable a representation as circumstances would admit. Altho' I acknowledge myself exceedingly affronted by their insinuations & deceitful conduct—I was disposed to avoid any severities, and I consented to make the best excuse possible for them.

* * * * * * *

Francis Green* to Edward Winslow.

New York, 25th Sept'r, 1779.

Dear Sir,—Enclosed in a letter from my kinsman, Joshua Winslow, Esq'r, lately arrived from Boston at Halifax, I rec'd a letter unsealed for you, which this serves to cover. I embrace the earliest opportunity of forwarding it.

*Francis Green was a Boston merchant. He graduated at Harvard. He was an ensign in the 40th Regiment at the siege of Louisburg, being but a boy of sixteen. He was a sturdy Loyalist, and a very entertaining biographical sketch of him is to be found in Sabine's American Loyalists. At the peace he settled in Nova Scotia, and was sheriff of the County of Halifax. He afterwards returned to the United States, and lived at Medford, Massachusetts, where he died in 1809.

By an extract from a Boston News Paper of 13th of this month, we find they were steadily watching the motions of your Fleet and determined if opportunity presented to effect the Destruction of it. It is a favorite object with them but I flatter myself their expectations will be frustrated by the Prudence of our Conductors.

That you may succeed in everything is the warm wish of

Dear Sir;

Yours with much esteem,

F. Green.

[This letter is addressed "Colonel Edw'd Winslow, commanding the Associated Loyalists, &c., New-Port."]

Rigdon Brice* to Edward Winslow.

Savannah, 6th November, 1779.

I thank you for the appointment you have been pleased to honor me with. * * The Provincials have been so scattered ever since they landed here (till lately) that it was with infinite difficulty a Muster could be obtained at all. When we returned from Augusta about the first of March, part of some Corps were left at Briar Creek, some at Hudson Ferry, Ebenezer, Savannah and Sunbury. I then endeavored to obtain a general Muster of the whole for the April Returns but could not effect it before the Army marched to So' Carolina. In May I followed them and joined in June on John's Island being then a month on my passage. The Stono affair immediately happened & the Army then returned to Beaufort & Savannah. Some of the Provincials remaining at Beaufort & on Lady's Island, I stayed there some time to Muster them, and then followed the main body to Savannah, where I arrived on the 20th August very sick; since which time I have not been out of my room, nay scarcely out of my bed till within these five days. Am now recovering fast but not able to finish the copies for this conveyance. * * *

Ridgon Brice to Edward Winslow.

Savannah, 25th Feb'y. 1780.

Sir,—I herewith transmit you returns of a muster of all the Provincial Corps in this Province, taken in Nov'r & Dec'r last; which is the first compleat muster I have been able to obtain since our arrival here, but

*Ridgon Brice was a native of Georgia and a Loyalist. He was at this time Col. Winslow's deputy muster-master. He went to Europe at the peace and died there in 1796.

some few of the Corps were frequently mustered, tho' I made no return to your office of them, thinking I should be able to make a general return before now; but as the movements of the Army during the summer prevented it, the Siege,* my illness, & the few opportunities of conveyance during the fall & winter, will I hope, induce you to excuse this long delay. And be assured, Sir, that I will use my utmost endeavours to make them at the regular periods hereafter. I am, Sir, Your much obliged and very H'ble Serv't,

Rigdon Brice.

List of the Returns.

New York Volunteers. 3d Bat'n New Jersey Volunteers.
1st Bat'n. B. G. DeLanceys. 2 Bat'n ditto.
Kings Rangers. So' Carolina Royalists.†
Royal North Carolina Volunteers.‡ Georgia Loyalists.‖
2 Troops Lt. Dragoons.

Jonathan Sewall to Edward Winslow.

Trinity Street, (Bristol) 7th May, 1780.

Chip enclosed me several of your letters to him during your depredatory Excursion, so that you have corresponded with me unknown to yourself. I should have wrote you, but Chip. in his Letter after your last [A. D. 1779] advised me of your heroical Expedition, & desired me, as your locality would for some time be uncertain, to direct no more Letters to you till further Advice—this was a necessary precaution, as from the nature of your Service your Motion must be as eccentric, & your perihelion more uncertain than that of the Comet which we are now looking out for with all the Eyes in our heads; this apologizes for my not writing to you. Your Shandean description of your meeting with your good old Father on Prudence Island, is so pathetic, so sentimental, so feeling, so—so—so exactly as it should be, that I have read it, oftener than I have my Bible, since I rec'd it—I never read it but every fiddle string in my whole Composition vibrates in strict Unison with yours when on Prudence Island—I would have gone as far to be an Eye witness of that Scene of paternal & filial affection, as I would to have seen Yorick's Meeting with poor Maria at Moulines—"God," said Maria, "tempers the wind to the shorn Lamb"—so may he do to your venerable Father!—"shorn indeed!"—mais, n' import.

*This was the famous siege of Savannah, well described in Judge Jones' History of New York.

†The South Carolina Royalists comprised both infantry and cavalry—raised by Lieut. Col. Innes in 1778.

‡The Royal North Carolina Volunteers were raised about 1779 and were under command of Lieut. Col. John Hamilton.

‖The Georgia Loyalists were raised early in 1779 and were commanded by Major James Wright.

I lament that the Evacuation of R. Island cut you short in your career of Glory—you ask what I think of it—why faith, there is so much to be said, pro & con that I don't know what to think. As Ronchong said about dying, it was a d——d thing to be sure but then appearances seemed to require it; and I don't know whether Sr. H. Clinton could prudently have gone with so great a force to Carolina without recalling the Troops from R. Island; and if he succeeds against Charlestown, you may retake R. I. when you please—much may be said for the Measure, tho' on your side of the water, much is said against it.

I thank you for the short Account of your incursions, you refer me to Gov'r Hutchinson for particulars, when I see him, but I am sorry to say I never expect to see him again in this world—he has lately bury'd his Son Wm. who dy'd of a Consumption, & my friends write me from London that he is going in the same way, very fast, that he is so far gone as to see no body but his physician & his Children, and that his Daughter Mrs. Oliver is going with the same disorder. Sic transit Gloria Mundi—as you say. I have wrote Chip in two Letters, & shall triplicately and quadruplicately,* desiring him to send me by the return Bristol Ships, a few Newtown pippins, Shagbarks and Cranberrys—do spur him up. You con't conceive what a regale Newtown pippins, Shagbarks & Cranberrys would be to us Refugees. I have nothing new to tell you of a public or private nature, we are in hourly Expectation of important News from Sr. H. Clinton—I hope when it comes to see the City of Bristol again brilliantly illuminated, as it was lately for Sr. G. Rodney's success. Mrs. Sewall, Mr. Sam Sewall, my Sister & my two Boys are all in good health & assure you of their best wishes.

When you have nothing else to do, if you can find that time, write a monstrous Long letter to

Your faithful Friend
and, whatever else you wish,

Jon. Sewall.

Robert Hallowell † to Edward Winslow.

Bristol, May 9th, 1780.

Notwithstanding my dear Friend, you had laid a prohibition on my

*The risk of letters failing to reach their destination was so great, owing to the dangers of the sea and the number of hostile cruisers, that not only duplicates but triplicates, etc., were frequently sent as opportunity offered, by succeeding ships.

†Robert Hallowell, of Boston, was comptroller of customs at that port. In 1768 he ordered John Hancock's vessel, the "Liberty," to be seized for smuggling wine and removed under the guns of the Romney ship of war. An affray with the populace ensued, in which Hallowell was severely wounded. In 1778 he went to Bristol, England. In 1792 he returned to Boston. He died in Gardiner, Maine, April 1818, in his 79th year.

writing, I had determined to break through it even before I got your letter by Capt. Murray which I duly received about ten days ago, and I believe is the only one I have had from you for near twelve months.

Murray arrived in Ireland some time in January, he tarried there near three months and came to this place on his way to Cowbridge to see his father.* He returned from thence last Tuesday, and Thursday evening set off for his first visit to London.

You mentioned having an interview with your father. I am sure it must have made you both exceedingly happy. I wrote him some time ago; when you write him do mention it, and give my most affectionate regards to all your family. I have been in this place eight months; how much longer it will be my residence I cannot tell, for unless our chest is replenished soon I must go into Wales or somewhere else. I got some friends to apply to Colonel Dalrymple and was in hopes I should have been able to have gone to New York with him—but he gave me no encouragement, and I can assure you I wanted but very little, to embark. He said he had nothing worth my acceptance, but I believe if I had been in London at the time I should have stood a good chance of going out with him.

I have inclosed you some letters from Boston, I will be exceedingly obliged to you to forward them by some careful hand. Mrs. H. begs her best Regards, & I am, my Dr. Ned—

Yours aff'tly,

Rob't Hallowell.

Colonel Edmund Fanning to Ward Chipman.

Smith Street, 2d Sept. 1780.

Dear Sir—It is impossible for me to say how happy I am made by my friend Winslow's letter to me, and the perusal of the Colonel's Letter to Gov. Wentworth. His Representation of the discouragements under which His Majesty's Amer. Corps have been raised, & Have served, merits the Warmest & most lasting Acknowledgements of Gratitude from every person connected with these Corps, as well as from all others who wish well to the Royal Cause & the Glory of the British Nation.

I am so pleased with the whole Letter, and so deeply interested in some parts of it, that if I had time I should possess myself of a Copy of it —but I must not detain it a moment lest the present opportunity of conveyance should be lost.

Yours, Dear Chip,

Very sincerely,

Ward Chipman, Esq. Edm'd Fanning.

*Colonel John Murray of Rutland, Massachusetts.

Colonel Edmund Fanning to Edward Winslow.

New York 22d. Septr., 1780.

My dear Sir,

Our Chipman made me supremely happy this Morning by delivering me your Letter. I was absolutely bewildered and lost for a Moment under that sudden Revolution of Thoughts, which are known only to the feeling & Grateful Few; how I should most amply enjoy, & fully requite, that Goodness and Friendship which You so eminently possess, & I so happily experience. At first I determined, & so requested Mr. Chipman to inform You, that You should be Lieut. Colo. to the King's Amer. Regim't. & that to effect this point Geo. Campbell* should be aided by me as Lieut. Colonel Commandant in raising a second Batt'n, but I shall more easily succeed, & at the same time more effectually promote the King's Service and Our Country's Good by placing You at the Head of this second Child of my Wishes and Ambition; and if You approve, I will not only be unto You as a Captain Plume & a Serjeant Kite, but in my Endeavors to promote your success in raising your Corps, You shall find me capable of the most virtuous & manly Friendship. Think on these Things, & the Lord give you Understanding to chuse that which is right & best. I ever am, most sincerely and unalterably,

Dear Col.

Your affectionate humble Servant,

Edm'd Fanning.

Joshua Upham to Edward Winslow.

Dec. 8, 1780.

Dear Winslow, * * * Should the war terminate at this moment and as it ought I shall find it uphill work to extricate myself from pecuniary embarrassment, and before over-taken by old age, to procure anything sufficient for the decent education of my children. * * * All military employments are disposing of on this side the water to a few of our Friends and to all Rebels who will come & receive them—In God's name where shall I find myself? * * * Suppose we jointly deliberate on this, to us very important business.

A General DeLancey for New York, a General Skinner for New Jersey, a General Arnold at large, have and are raising Brigades—& why not a General Ruggles for Massachusetts-Bay &c.; Should this be permitted by the Commander in Chief why may not you & I be the very men to undertake the raising a Battalion each which, with the Dragoons to be

*George Campbell was lieutenant colonel of the King's American Regiment in January, 1777.

raised by Ruggles, will compleat the Brigade. In this way all the men of influence within and some Friends without the lines from the Eastern Provinces may at the close of the war find themselves on sure ground of provision; you & I shall have it in our power to provide for our Boys &c. * * *

Let us make application to the Commander in Chief, subscribed by a number of Gentlemen from the Eastern Provinces, requesting that Ruggles be permitted to raise a Brigade from that part of the country. This done we will apply for warrants, you for one and myself for the other Battalion, either as Colonels or Lt. Colonels, in which case we shall with the Regiment of Dragoons employ every Gent'n from that country who would wish to be recommended, by which means we shall extend an Influence to all parts of that country. We shall by spirited exertions undoubtedly recruit many even in the present situation of affairs. We shall, being properly organized, be in a situation & condition to avail ourselves of every favorable opening while Government are urging their operations to the Eastward as I think they will early in the next spring.

* * * In this way I communicate my sentiments to you, perhaps you will convince me that all my hopes are groundless & merely ideal. I have not hinted my intention either to Ruggles or Murray, I wish them to get fairly on their Legs before their attention is diverted to anything else. I really think my plan if adopted will promote theirs. * * * &c.

J. Upham.

Col. Winslow's Strictures on Sir H. Clinton.*

It was very soon evident to me that the impediments which were thrown in the way of my friends Murray & Upham could not fail to check their progress. The stupor which seemed to seize his Excellency & which nothing short of a super-natural event can rouse him from, effectually prevented any military enterprises. The defensive system which he adopted was so complete that there was no possibility of advancing without the lines and it must have been a very active and determined deserter that could get within them. 'Tis unnecessary to observe that a campaign in which all the Grenadiers of the Army are employed in digging, and half the Dragoons foraging on foot among peaceable inhabitants, could not be productive of capital acquisitions. I leave it to Upham & Murray to give you a detail of the various difficulties which they have encountered & of which I should probably have had my share. From these and other considerations I have at times rejoiced that my offer was rejected.

*The letter containing these strictures may have been addressed to Sir John Wentworth, but there is nothing in the rough copy filed among the Winslow papers to enable one to determine.

The prodigious events which have lately taken place in this country render our conjectures very uncertain. [Winslow had written here the following through which he afterwards put his pen:—"For my own part "as I never despond, I indulge a hope that I shall yet have a chance of "seeing a General that's neither a Rebel or a Histerical Fool at the Head "of a British Army in America & when that happens I shall have no "doubt that the war will terminate as every true friend to the constitu- "tion wishes."]

I do not despond but have yet hopes that every man of spirit in the country will have an opportunity to show it to advantage. You will undoubtedly have the earliest information of what may be intended another year, and it is only for you to point out what your wishes are relative to your matters here.

I do not relinquish my plan but will catch at the first fair chance. Murray has persevered thro' an infinite variety of difficulties & the Corps is, spite of all opposition, respectable & could he be favored with a chance to operate in the Country I have no doubt it would be distinguished.

I fear Upham will fail.

Edward Winslow's Memorial.

In a memorial to Sir H. Clinton dated at N. Y. Dec. 28, 1780, Winslow states, "That on the 15th July, 1776, he was appointed Muster Master General of his Majesty's Provincial Forces with an allowance of 10 shillings per day and that he at the same time was Secretary to a Board of General Officers of which the Right Hon. Earl Percy was President, for which he received 10 shillings per day. That afterwards Col. Innes was appointed Inspector General of Provincial Forces with 20 shillings per day and the provincial rank of Lieut. Colonel, and that he was assured he would obtain like rank and pay for himself on due application." He claims that having anticipated a movement of the army towards the province from which he came, and the hope of enjoying Lt. Colonel's rank and pay in a line of active service, he did not solicit honorary rank. Winslow urges the increase of his pay to 20 shillings on the ground of the great increase in the Provincial Forces and on the principle of justice to himself & to a family once affluent but now reduced through the sacrifice of their possesssions.

In another memorial to Sir Henry Clinton asking for leave of absence, Winslow mentions that he was formerly Naval Officer for the Port of Plymouth, and afterwards Collector of Customs for the Port of Boston in New England. He did not succeed in getting his memorial attended to, the Commander in Chief replying, "It can't be now."

Edward Winslow to Major DeLancey.*

New York, Jan, 23, 1781.

Sir,—

His Excellency the Commander in Chief's answer to my memorial for leave of absence has been communicated to me by the Deputy Inspector General, nothing short of the consideration that I am thereby reduced to extreme distress could induce me to give you any additional trouble on this subject, but I am so seriously affected by this decision that I flatter myself I should be forgiven for relating the following circumstances.

That I was among the first who made a voluntary sacrifice of property & enjoyments & joined the British Troops after the commencement of the rebellion, and to the present time I have been constantly employed with the army. When I was appointed Muster-Master-General to the Provincial Forces there were only two companies raised, and even then I received twenty shillings a day for mustering them and for my other appointments They are now increased to several thousands. All the returns of musters from the various posts on this continent are made to my office, and (in addition to the common duty of a muster-master) I am obliged to examine all the subsistence accounts, &c, to certify their concurrence with the Muster Rolls. During the whole of my services in this department I have never received any species of emolument except a bare allowance for my travelling expences, and I beg leave to add that in the execution of my duty I have never in any instance to my knowledge given just cause for complaint or censure.

I have in the province of Massachusetts an infirm father, upwards of seventy years old, to whom I am indebted for the best education this country could afford, and for innumerable other favors. He has a wife and two daughters with him (my mother & sisters.) This family habituated to affluence have now no possible resource from which they can obtain even the necessaries of life without my assistance, and I have hitherto had it in my power, by secluding myself almost from society & practising a system of rigid economy, to save them from burthening government by adding to the number of distress'd supplicants. But by the circumstances mentioned in my first memorial I have been deprived of one half the allowance which I was accustomed to receive and am thereby effectually prevented from performing the necessary duty to my family.

Since my connection with the British Army I have received some very flattering assurances of friendship from some very respectable per-

*Oliver DeLancey, jr., son of Brig. General DeLancey. He was at this time adjutant general to the commander in chief in succession to Major Andre. He died unmarried in 1820, and was at that time a full general in the British army.

ons in England. To avail myself of their offer was my only motive for asking a leave of absence at this time, having no other possible resort to save my friends from wretchedness. * * *

I should quit the army with reluctance even for a few months. From Lexington engagement to the present time I have omitted no opportunity of serving as a Volunteer when I had it in my power, and I declare that I eagerly anticipate opportunities of exerting myself in the situation prayed for in my memorial in preference to an application in England for civil offices, or the gratuitous bounty of government, which others have obtained whose pretensions were by no means superior to mine, unless they have acquired that superiority by begging instead of earning their bread.

These facts, so peculiarly interesting to myself & friends must apologize for the confidence in your humanity again to represent my situation to the Commander in Chief, satisfy'd that when it is known to his Excellency he will indulge me in improving the interest of my friends for the purposes mentioned.

The singular advantage which would attend my going in this Fleet compels me to be thus importunate. I have the honor to be,

With every sentiment of respect,

Your most obliged &c, &c,

E. Winslow.

Major Oliver DeLancey,
Acting Adjutant General.

Edward Winslow to Governor John Wentworth.*

[1781]

The nature of the present war in America is so peculiar, so different from what British armies have been formerly accustomed to, that experience acquired in other countries avails very little in this. Veterans who served campaigns in Germany and are perfectly acquainted with manœuvering of armies in regular sieges and defences, find themselves novices when engaged against an army like the present, and bold as the assertion may appear I venture to affirm that the British have gained near as much

*Sir John Wentworth, baronet, the last Royal Governor of New Hampshire, and surveyor of the King's woods in North America. Many interesting particulars relating to him will be found in these pages. A pretty full account of his life is contained in Sabine's Loyalists of the American Revolution. Other particulars are to be found in Murdoch's History of Nova Scotia. Sabine says of him: "In my judgment not one of the public men who clung to the royal cause will go down to posterity with a more enviable fame." At college he was a classmate and friend of John Adams. Sir John was ever a warm friend of Edward Winslow, whose abilities he greatly admired, and whose welfare he did his best to promote.

from their observations of the Provincial and American Troops as the latter have acquired from them. I will only mention one circumstance by way of illustration, which does not in any degree derogate from the honor of the British (God forbid that I should say or write anything that did). When the British Light Infantry began their operations in this country they were almost compact in their movements, regular in their marching and from habit and general instructions they appeared averse to every attempt to screen or cover themselves from danger however imminent. Hence many of them were picked off in all the first skirmishes. It was observed that on all such occasions the enemy placed themselves behind trees and walls, etc., and it was apparently necessary to take them in their own way. In consequence a new word was adopted and the Flank Corps were on subsequent occasions ordered "To Tree"—a word of command as well known to them now as any other.

The theoretical part of military business is not so particularly intricate that a gentleman may not acquire a competent knowledge of it in a short time; much of the necessary knowledge of an officer is not what's generally understood by the term professional, and surely an acquaintance with the country in which he operates, with the temper of its inhabitants, their manners, &c., must be an essential qualification. I have the highest idea of the necessity of discipline and subordination myself but I will not subscribe to the doctrine that it requires a whole life spent in the service to give an officer a just idea of it. Many Provincial officers and very many young officers of the Line are proofs to the contrary. I know that experience is necessary to complete a military character, but that only men who have rose thro' all the gradations of military rank are fit to be trusted with military commands is an idea which I would hope was originally formed in the head of Sir Wm. [Howe] and would never descend farther than to his immediate successor. I would not detract one iota from the respect due to veterans, but in Heaven's name when a state is in danger should men of capability, liberal education and extensive knowledge remain unemployed until all the serjeants of the army are provided for? Surely this cannot be prudence or policy. This war has made many good soldiers for the rebels and it has added many good soldiers to the British. The discipline of the Americans is indisputably copied from the British, but the British in turn have in several instances profited by the examples of their enemies.

A General Burgoyne may contend that a regiment of raw recruits headed by inexperienced leaders cannot carry martial enterprises with success, he however ought to acknowledge that substitutes for discipline and experience were found in the American armies encountered by him, which more than compensated for the want of those qualities.

Having long since established in my own mind by this kind of reasoning the propriety and expediency of employing the gentlemen of this country, I readily declared my resolution to engage in the provincial service. Till the present time I have seen no fair opening. The anticipations of impediments in the recruiting business, had it not been for the discouraging partiality shewn to particular regiments, would never have discouraged me, but the necessity of contact with men whose ideas of service were different from my own was the obstacle that weighed most in my mind; for till very lately there have been to all the Provincial regiments recommendations of officers which were next to positive orders from the Commander in Chief. The present plan of Upham, Murray and myself is calculated to obviate all my objections. The task of recruiting a regiment is certainly arduous but perseverance in it will always ensure success. The progress which Murray has already made is a proof of this assertion, altho' he has had difficulties enough to encounter. In one instance a plan as well digested as ever a recruiting officer formed failed merely from the difficulty of obtaining a pass from Head Quarters to bring off the recruits, and 18 men who would have been doing duty as dragoons in the service are now suffering punishment in Simsbury mines.* Another attempt of less consequence has failed in the Jerseys thro' very extraordinary delays—a third is now under consideration and it appears to me is of so much consequence that it must be adopted. There are a sort of men here who with small pretensions affect a knowledge of this country that indulge themselves in very free observations on the nature of the recruiting business. They laugh at the idea of raising a regiment in the present situation of matters. * * *

We are anxious to exert our utmost endeavors to form a Brigade when we receive your consent to command it. I am sensible that in making this request we raise a proportion of difficulties for you, but I please myself with the consideration that the illiberal observations which may be made on giving the rank of Brigadier General may with equal propriety be let loose on the rank of Lieut. Colonel. * * * I venture to assert that were it necessary the signature of almost every man from the Eastern Provinces might be obtained to a request that you should command the proposed corps. I am sure it can need no additional motive but the public service to ensure your exertions. I need not increase this already extravagant epistle to convince you of that. I observed to you that I had not as yet obtained a warrant. I am in no hurry, nor have I the least objection to waiting until Murray's corps is completed and Upham's respectable. My situation is not exactly the same with theirs.

*Many staunch Loyalists were imprisoned in the mines at Simsbury in Connecticut.

Murray's all depends on the success of this business, and Upham (whose character must be given you by others less partial than myself) has at present little else to depend upon. My own appointment being at the Head of a Department is a very different one, and although the present emoluments of it have been screwed down to the last peg by the Strainer of Gnats and Swallower of camels who at present commands, I have less to complain of than my neighbors. I have no reason to suppose that I shall fail in my endeavors to secure appointment as Lieut. Colonel only that I have failed in every attempt that I have made since Sir Henry Clinton commanded here.

It was not till every mark of respect was shewn our first patron and every argument used to induce him to exert his influence that Upham, Murray and myself presumed to solicit for ourselves. To gratify that worthy man [Gen. Timothy Ruggles] and to facilitate a plan which was concerted by General Vaughan and himself, and which was afterwards objected to at Head Quarters, we cheerfully engaged with a party of Refugees from Rhode Island, with whom we every day risqued our reputation as well as our lives, presuming that the end of our toils would be an appointment to gratify our ambitions by raising the long talked of brigade. Although our successes were much beyond our most sanguine expectations, we found ourselves in the same predicament as before. In short it was evident that the General (Ruggles) had from the unpardonable inattention to him and from other causes contracted such a disgust to present men and measures here, that he could neither negotiate with confidence or serve with alacrity, and there was such a mixture of virtue even with his obstinacy that while we deprecated it as unfortunate for ourselves we dared not oppose it. * * *

Rigdon Brice, Deputy Muster Master in the South, to Edward Winslow.

Charlestown 24 Au., 1781.

Sir,—

From the nature of the service in this Country it has not been in my power to transmit Returns to your office so regularly as I ought to have done. Lord Cornwallis has been pleased to allow me an assistant, which will enable me to perform this duty in future. He is just returned from mustering the Troops in Georgia.

I have now sent copies of the Muster Rolls & the strength & distribution of all the Provincial Forces in this Quarter to the 24 June (except the N. York Volunteers, 3d Batt. N. Jersey Vol'rs & South Carolina Royalists, which have not been mustered since April). The British

Legion* met with very considerable loss on the 17th Jan., since which time they have not been mustered & are now in Virginia so that they are not included.

I am ordered immediately to Wilmington, where are the Royal North Carolina Regt., a new corps called North Carolina Highland Reg't,† and a new Troop recruiting; returns of which I will send as soon as possible.

Every necessary of life is so extremely dear that I find it impossible to live upon the pay I have hitherto received, and this obliges me to beg you will be pleased to make some addition to it. Major Prevost has honored me with his leave to request that you will please to write to him on this head, and Col. Innes I am sure will do me the favor to promote it, as I have received only five shillings a day since Col. Campbell left Georgia.

During my long sicknes in Georgia Mr. Donald Frazer did my business for above six months, as I cannot obtain any pay for him without your order, I beg you will please grant him something for that service. He was very attentive to the business and has suffered much by the Rebellion.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c.,

Rigdon Brice, D. M'r. M'r. Prov. Forces.

Mrs. Sheaffe to Edward Winslow.

Boston 3d Feb'ry, 1781.

I thank you my dear friend for your kind attention. Capt. Folger called on me by your desire and told me you had lately heard from Hale.‡ Why does he not write me? If he knew the pain his omission gives me he would, he must—or he does not deserve the character I hear of him in various ways. I know not what to think; do my friend explain this mystery, it hangs heavy upon my heart.

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*The British Legion was a celebrated Loyalist corps, consisting both of cavalry and infantry. It was organized early in 1778, and during the southern campaign was commanded by Lieut. Col. Banistre Tarleton, a dashing cavalry officer. At the peace in 1783 the corps was sent to Port Matoon, N. S., to be disbanded. Few, however, remained there.

†The North Carolina Highlanders were organized by the McDonald clan, who had lately emigrated from Scotland. The husband of the celebrated Flora McDonald was one of their number. The corps saw hard service during the war.

‡The reference is to her son, Roger Hale Sheaffe. He had the good fortune to attract the attention of Lord Percy (afterwards Duke of Northumberland), by whose assistance he was advanced rapidly in the military line. He became colonel of the 49th Regiment, and took a leading part in the war of 1812. He was knighted and made a baronet, and became a lieutenant general in the army. A biography of nine pages in Sabine's American Loyalists tells of his romantic career. See Edward Winslow's reference to him in this book in a letter written in September, 1810.

I wrote you by Mr. Ludlow; under the same cover was a letter from your sister P[enelope] who is surprised at your mention of not having rec'd a line from her since May last. No my friend no place, time, or circumstance can make her unmindful of you. She is too good a creature to neglect so justly beloved a Brother. I own I was mortified when I found Capt. Folger did not bring me a letter. Have again wrote to Mr. Geyer (which letter beg you to see) about the same matter the rent. I am sure you my dear friend will assist me in getting it all in your power. Gen'l Robinson hired it of me himself in person; indeed I want it, did you know how much, it would pain your feeling heart.

My family join in kind regards. I am my dear friend, with the sincerest attachment.

Yours,

Sus'a Sheaffe.

Edward Winslow to J. Banister.

June 9, 1781.

I desire that neither Mrs. B. nor yourself would suffer the amusements or company of England to wean you from your attachments to this country. Remember that nothing can recompense me for the tears I shed —I am not ashamed to recollect them tho' a soldier—at leaving our once happy town of Boston but the pleasure of attending some of its best inhabitants to their old agreeable situations.

My best regards to Mrs. B., assure her that no vicissitudes can make me forget the many instances of her attention and kindness.

I have been one whole year soliciting leave from my superiors to visit Great Britain. Perhaps by another year I may obtain it."

Capt. Robert Bethel* to Edward Winslow.

East Battery, Halifax April 20, 1782.

My dear Friend,—

Not any circumstance since my memory ever gave me more satisfaction than the receipt of your, your good father's and your virtuous and amiable sister's letters by Major Brace [of the Royal Fencibles.] I cannot well express the joy I felt that that good man is at last free from the brutish insults of an ignorant set of D——ls where he last resided, and that the joy will be still more compleat the moment I hear of the arrival of your dear mother and sister Penelope. Your father's letter convinces

*Robert Bethel was a captain in the King's Orange Rangers. He had formerly served as quarter master of the corps, and his promotion was largely owing to Col. Winslow's efforts.

me he has a great share of the same flow of spirits that used to enliven the little Plymouthian society when you were all happy together. * * * I most sincerely thank you for all your congratulations and the trouble you took in my favor and I hope I shall always entertain a lively sense of gratitude to you for the honor of the commission I now bear [as Captain in the King's Orange Rangers] as you have been the immediate cause of my procuring it. * * * I should have been extremely happy to have sent you some Salmon and Lobsters but they are not yet in season. Have been trying to get some potatoes that are good but without success, but I promise you by the first conveyance not to omit any article in my power to send you.

I am your much obliged & sincere friend,

Rob. Bethel.

Rigdon Brice to Edward Winslow.

Charleston, 25th Jan'y, 1782.

Sir,—On my return in June from the long march thro' N. Carolina, I immediately began to prepare Returns of the Provincial forces in this District for your office, and sent them in his Majesty's Ship the Hope, a copy of my letter is inclosed. I proceded to Wilmington & on my return here in Dec'r, the Hope being lost, we have made up another sett to June, compleat, which I hope may come safe to hand.

We have mustered all the Corps in this province to 24th Dec'r. I am going immediately to Georgia and on seeing the Regiments there, will transmit returns of the whole to that period. When these returns were closed I was very sick, and desired Mr. Jenkins, my assistant, to write you.

Absolute necessity obliges me to beg you will be pleased to make some addition to my pay.

I have the Honor to be Sir,
Your most obedient
and very humble Serv't,

Rigdon Brice.

Joshua Upham to Edward Winslow.

Fort Franklin,* Lloyd's Neck,
June 27, 1782.

Dear Winslow,—

The bearers Serg't Joslin and Serg't Carr have applied to me for leave to go to you and if you permit to N. York. Mr. Chace has recommended

*Fort Franklin was no doubt named in honor of William Franklin, the last Royal Governor of New Jersey. He was a natural son of Benjamin Franklin. A full biography of him will be found in Sabine's American Loyalists. Lloyd's Neck lies west of Huntington, on the north shore of Long Island. Major Joshua Upham commanded the Loyalists here, many of whom supported themselves by cutting wood for the army at New York. Many of the Kingston, N. B. Loyalist settlers were living here at this time.

them in such a manner as to convince me I am safe in granting their request. They will if you do not indulge them further return immediately to this place, on which condition they go. There are some few Privates lately of the Loyal New Englanders* who suppose you intended their discharge, but do not know whether they are discharged or not; these men wished to be passed from the Neck, to which purpose you will be so good as to send me a list of such names as I may properly permit to leave the Neck. I am in great haste, you will therefore excuse that list of Particulars which I wish to communicate for your amusement; but as you will, as I hope, in a short time do us the honor to visit this Post in Company with Governor Franklin and Major Murray, I will save my budget for that time. I have the Honor to be Sir,

Your Friend & humble servant,

J. Upham.

ADVERTISEMENT.

[Shortly after the surrender of Lord Cornwallis there appeared an ironical advertisement in the New York Gazette from which the following extracts are taken.]

The late surrender of Lord Cornwallis and his Army, must undoubtedly produce the most happy effects to the British Nation by accelerating the determination of the war and promoting the views of the Ministry with respect to America. It will unavoidably interest Foreign Powers in behalf of the English and has taken off a man who was inimical to the Glory of Sir Henry Clinton and perpetually counteracting his manoeuvres. In a word no one can tell or foresee the happy consequences of this important event. Nevertheless the subscriber finds it convenient for various reasons to remove to Europe. All persons therefore who have any demands against or are indebted to him are requested to make a speedy settlement.

The Subscriber will dispose of his stock in trade by public auction. Compleat catalogues will be given at the Sale. The following are a few of the articles to be disposed of.

BOOKS.

The History of the American war, or the glorious exploits of Generals Gage, Howe, Burgoyne, Cornwallis & Clinton.

The Royal Pocket Companion, being a system of Policy whereby a Prince may in a short time render himself abhorred by his subjects and detested by all good men.

*The Loyal New Englanders were a small military organization raised and commanded, early in 1777, by Lieut. Colonel George Wightman. In June, 1781, the members were distributed amongst the larger corps.

The Right of Great Britain to the dominion of the sea, a poetical fiction.

The state of Great Britain in October 1760 & 1781 compared and contrasted.

A Geographical, Historical & Political account of the British Possessions in North America; this valuable work formerly consisted of 13 Vols. in folio but is abridged by a royal hand into a single pocket duodecimo, for greater convenience of himself and his subjects.

PLAYS.

West Point preserved—or the Plot discovered—Tragi-Comedy.

Miss McCrea, a Tragedy.

The Meschianza,* a Pantomine.

The Sleeveless errend, or the Commissioners of Peace.

The Amorous Hero and Contented Cuckold, by Gen'l Howe.†

The battle of the kegs—a Farce.

"Who'd have thought it"—or the introduction of 24 British Standards to the Rebel Congress.

MAPS AND PRINTS.

An elegant map of the British Empire in America on a very small scale.

A plan of Cornwallis Route through the Southern Colonies beginning at Charlestown and terminating at Yorktown in Virginia.

A very distant prospect of North America.

View of the battle of Saratoga with Companion piece the Siege of York-Town.

British representations of the principal operations of the present war, highly colored by eminent hands.

The Times; a satirical print representing the British Lion as blind in both eyes, thirteen of his teeth drawn, and his claws pared off, with Lord North in the character of a farrier bleeding him in the tail for his recovery.

PHILOSOPHICAL APPARATUS.

Magic Lantern, constructed by an able artist under Lord North's direction, for the entertainment of the good people of England; objects presented carefully selected.

Multiplying Glasses whereby the number of the enemy may be greatly increased to cover disgrace of defeat or enhance the glory of victory.

A compleat Electrical apparatus for the use of the King and his

*See Jones' Loyalist History of New York, vol. 1, pp. 241, 261, 716.
†See Jones' Loyalist History of New York, vol. 1, p. 351.

Ministers; this machine should be used with great caution, for as unhappy experience hath shewn, the Operator may unexpectedly receive the shock he intended to give.

Pocket Glasses for near sighted Politicians.

PATENT MEDICINES.

Aurum Potabile. This medicine was formerly deemed a never failing medicine in all cases, but was thought not so well adapted to the American Climate, having been frequently tried without effect; but its reputation is now restored having been administered with great success in the case of General Arnold.

Vivifying Balsam, excellent for weak nerves, palpitations of the heart, over bashfulness and diffidence: recommended to Army Commanders.

Sp. Mend.—or the true spirit of lying, extracted by a distillation of some hundreds of the Royal Gazette of New York. Other papers have been tried but experience shows that the paper and ink of the Royal Gazette alone can produce this spirit in true perfection. By administering due proportions of this medicine lies may be produced which are to operate for a day, a week, or for months.

Cordial Drops for low spirits—prepared for the use of the Board of Loyal Refugees at New York.

Jonathan Sewell,* Sr., to Ward Chipman.

Bristol [England] April 22, 1782.

Dear Chip,—Your letters of 28th July & 18th August have astonished me—you say you have not received a line from me for twelve months, in which time I wrote you I think five. * * * I have been told that out of seven or eight ships which sailed from this port, five were captured and one foundered, among these six were I suppose my letters. In one of them I wrote to the two Neddys—Winslow and Tyng, tho' the former did not deserve it and the latter but by courtesy. * * *

You tell me your income is near £500 per annum and yet you lay up nothing—permit my friendship to suggest that at your time of life you ought out of that sum to be laying up something. I know the unbounded generosity of your disposition, but believe me the most generous when at the top of the hill of life do not always look back with complacency and self approbation. Prudent economy is a virtue which takes rank above profuse generosity. Upon looking back on my past life I often lament that I had not a friend to point my attention to a future period in this world. Not that I repent of the few acts of friendship and humanity which I have to reflect upon, and I think I should have had more and

*See biographical note under date 30th July, 1776.

yet have been in better circumstances had I retrenched those foolish expenses in living which benefitted no mortal & which had perhaps their origin in emulation and false pride rather than in any virtuous principle. * * * Look around us as far as your acquaintance with mankind extends and you will find estates have been saved rather than gotten. * * *

There Chip, I don't know how you'll relish my sermonizing, but like it or not, you know it comes from an old friend—perhaps you'll say an old fool. However you may read it to my friend Ned (Winslow) the first Sunday after you receive it if you meet him. I know he will laugh, but tell him I love him with all my heart and soul, and therefore I wish him to give it his serious and devout attention. I wish you would persuade Ned to write me his opinion upon matters and things, aye—apropos again, tell him I wish he would be more niggardly of his money and less of his letters.

My two dear sons have both promised to write you by this opportunity but their time is so entirely filled up at their different schools that I question whether they will be able. I have the most pleasing accounts of them from their masters. * * *

But enough of my boys, it serves to fill up the sheet and indulge parental fondness.

Write me soon—en attendant, adieu,

Yours invariably,

Jon. Sewell.

EXPLORATION COMMITTEE.

Instructions for Messrs. Amos Botsford, Samuel Cummings* and Frederick Hauser† Agents for the Loyalists who purpose to settle in Nova Scotia as well those who go this Autumn [1782] as those who are to follow in the Spring.

That on their arrival in Nova Scotia they apply themselves to discover whether a Tract or Tracts of Land free from all disputed Titles, either with the Indians or former Grantees, can be found sufficient to accommodate the Loyalists and their Families who shall remove thither.

They will examine the soil, timber, game, limestone, rivers, bays,

*Samuel Cummings of New Hampshire. He was proscribed and banished in 1778. He came to Annapolis with his wife and two children in company with Amos Botsford, Frederick Hauser and some 500 Loyalists in October, 1782. Some account of the circumstances connected with the voyage and arrival at Annapolis will be found in Miss F. E. Murray's interesting Memoir of Dr. Le Baron Botsford, p. 14.

†Frederick Hauser was a surveyor, and with Amos Botsford and Samuel Cummings, explored St. Mary's Bay and the lower part of the St. John River. See biographical note under letter of June 19, 1784.

creeks, harbors, streams and ponds of water with regard to mills, fishing trade, etc. They will examine the face of the country whether it be hilly, stoney, sandy, clayey, etc.

They will enquire what lands in the neighbourhood are granted and to whom, whether the grants be forfeited, or whether they may be purchased and at what rate; and whether advantageous terms may not be made with the present proprietors.

They will endeavor to ascertain as near as they can what will be the difficulties and obstructions in forming new settlements, and what will be the probable advantages.

That they keep a journal of their proceedings and register their observations, noting well the distances from the principal settlements already made, and from noted rivers and harbors, as well as the obstructions in travelling and transporting.

That such lands as may be obtained be distributed and divided among the proposed adventurers in as just and equitable a manner as the nature of the case will admit of; and that they make Reports of their proceedings from time to time as early as may be to the Secretary of the Agency in New York.

List of Agents for the Settlers in Nova Scotia.

For Lloyds Neck—Lieut. Col. Thompson, Col. Edward Winslow. Sampson S. Blowers, Rev'd John Sayre, Capt. Moseley, Amos Botsford Esquire.

Bergin—Rev. Dr. Seabury, Major Thomas Ward, Capt. George Harding, Capt. Frederick Hauser, Wm. Harding, Joshua Pell.

Queens County—Joshua Chandler, Esquire, Samuel Cummings, Esquire.

The Reverend Dr. Seabury was appointed President and Sampson S. Blowers, Esquire, Secretary.

Sarah Winslow to Benjamin Marston.

New York, April 10, 1783.

Six weeks ago I wrote you, my worthy cousin, but was disappointed in the opportunity I expected to have sent it by; am sorry I did not send it by some other, being sure it would have afforded you pleasure, as it was expressive of the real happiness we then enjoyed. At that time we were favored with a large share. My Father under the care of our very attentive friend Doctor Bayley recovered his health. We were comfortable settled, blessed with having my brother with us, and constantly surrounded by a pleasing circle of chearful Friends—all entertaining agreeable expectations that Spring would open with enlivening prospects. Alas they

are now at an end—Sad is the reverse, our fate seems now decreed, and we left to mourn out our days in wretchedness. No other resource for millions but to submit to the tyranny of exulting enemys or settle a new country. I am one of the number that gladly would embark for Nova Scotia was it either prudent or proper, but I am told it will not do for me at present. What is to become of us, God only can tell. In all our former sufferings we had hope to support us—being deprived of that is too much.

Was there ever an instance, my dear Cousin, can any history produce one, where such a number of the best of human beings were deserted by the government they have sacrificed their all for?

The open enemys of Great Britain have gained their point, and more than ever they could have had impudence to have asked for—while their brave, persevering Noble Friends, who have suffered and toiled for years, and whom they were bound by every tie of honour and gratitude to assist, are left without friends, without fortune, without prospect of support but from that Being who has hitherto supported us, and upon whom we must rely for further protection. This "peace" brings none to my heart, my Brother, my darling Edward, who I wish never again to be separated from, is now hasting away—may he meet you upon his arrival in Halifax. You my cousin I hope will be much with him. He has a most tender affection for you. As his employ will lead him to various parts, you probably will have more frequent opportunity of writing to us here than he will. * * * Do my friend, as you value the peace of this family, caution him to take care of himself. He has been very well, but I am fearfull his fatigue now will injure him. The happiness he has afforded us is beyond my pen to tell you. Since my Father's recovery I have had no alloy to my felicity except my Mother's absence. Poor Lady she will now come jest as her son is gone. Here it's thought best for us to continue for some months—or until it is known what better we can do. Severe are the struggles I must now have with myself. We are parting with numbers who have formed a most delighted society, and when they have all taken their departure, new scenes will there be to hurt my feelings every hour. My Sister, happy girl, is entirely reconciled to staying; if she cannot enjoy one set is determined to another, my sensibility is too great for it. I wish to retire entirely to my own family and endeavor to remain unmolested. My Brother is now seeking a house for us out of the City, he has great consolation in leaving us in charge of so good a man as Doctor Bayley.* It is out of my power, my Cousin, to do justice to the

*Richard Bayley of New York was an eminent physician. He was born in Connecticut in 1745, and studied in London, England. In 1776 he was a surgeon in the army, but retired shortly afterwards to private life. His wife to whom he was devotedly attached, died in 1777. He occupied the chairs of anatomy and surgery in Columbia College, and was a leading writer in medical publications.

benevolence & kindness of this gentleman. From our first landing here to this hour he has been the most attentive and extraordinary friend that perhaps a family ever met with. Under his care my Father now enjoys better health than he has done for ten years. His study is not only to relieve our "pains" but to make us happy.

This scrawl will make you a partaker of our sufferings; but it will also I hope make you keep in remembrance that it is in your power to alleviate them by writing a line by every conveyance. You are a Christian and Phylosopher, teach me so to be.

My Father, Brother and Sister joyn in love to you. Do remember me kindly to Mr. and Mrs. Deblois and Polly Little when you see them. Adieu. Happiness attend you, will ever pray

Your affectionate cousin S.

George Leonard to Major DeLancey, Adjt. Gen'l.

Brooklyn, April 15, 1783.

Dear Sir,—

The enormous expense I am of necessity put to in removing my family to Nova Scotia, the asylum pointed out for the King's friends, compels me to request his Excellency the Commander in Chief to grant me 6 months advance of my annual allowance. I am dear Sir,

Yours sincerely,

Geo. Leonard.

P. S. My family goes on board Thursday next consisting of 15 including servants.

Lt. Col. J. H. Cruger to Edward Winslow.

New York April 18th, 1783.

Sir,—The officers & soldiers of Gen'l De Lancey's 1st Batt. request you will be pleased to undertake to locate for them a Tract of Land in Nova Scotia agreeably to the annexed Return.

In full confidence Sir of your friendship they trust to your care, attention & good judgment to procure their Grant of land in the most eligible and advantageous situation, paying strict regard to the quality; and in their behalf I thank you for that friendly service on which their future happiness so much depends.

I am Sir

Y'r obed't humble Serv't

J. H. Cruger.

A Return of the Officers and Soldiers of Brig'r General De Lancey's 1st Batt'n who mean to accept of his Majesty's bounty in Nova Scotia, 14th

April, 1783. 1 Lt. Colonel, 1 Major, 8 Captains, 9 Lieuts, 6 Ensigns, 1 Chaplain, 1 Adjt, 1 Quarter Master, 1 Surgeon, 20 Sergeants, 12 Corporals, 5 Drummers, 115 Privates, 36 Women, 70 Children. [Total 287.]

CIRCULAR.

New York, April, 1783.

Sir,—A number of the commanding officers of the Provincial Forces now in New York having thought it expedient that Agents should be sent forward to Nova Scotia as soon as possible for the purpose of soliciting & securing grants of land for the Provincial Corps, and Lieut. Col. Allen, 2d New Jersey Vols.; Major Millidge,* 1st New Jersey Vols.; & Mr. Winslow, Muster Master General having been proposed for that service, they beg leave to know if the measure is approved of by the Corps under your command and if the Persons named meet your approbation.

I am to request you will favor me with your answer immediately as no time is to be lost.

We have the Honor to be Sir,

Your most ob't humble servants,

Bev. Robinson, Col. L. A. Regt.

J. H. Cruger, Lt. Col. 1st Batt. DeLancey's Br.

Officer commanding
Kings American Dragoons.

Edward Winslow to Ward Chipman.

Annapolis Royal† 15th May, 1783.

My dear Chip—St. Paul in all his travels never experienced one hundredth part of the difficulties which I've encountered since I left you. I am notwithstanding in perfect health and in high spirits, nor shall any rascally vicissitudes which happen in this blackguard world lower 'em.

When I arrived here those unfortunate little ones that God had been

*Major Thomas Millidge. His commission in the New Jersey Volunteers is dated December 11, 1776. Prior to the Revolution he was surveyor general of New Jersey. At the time of the international boundary arbitration he made a survey of the River St. Croix (A. D. 1797). He settled at Granville, Annapolis Co., N. S., where he died in 1816, aged 81 years. His son Thomas lived at St. John, N. B.

†The exact date of Edward Winslow's arrival with his family at Annapolis is uncertain, but it was about the 20th April, 1783; possibly a few days earlier. See the date in Jacob Troop's receipt for rent under date 23rd May, 1785, in this book.

so civil as to consign to my care were all sick with the measles—I hope I have convinced Him that he could not have put them in better hands. There was not a place to put their heads in—Col. Small* upon hearing that I had embarked for this place and knowing the difficulty of obtaining quarters) had sent an express from Halifax and had procured two rooms for me, but it was in a family where I could not mix; I therefore instantly hired a place on the other side the river for £17 currency a year—a very tolerable farm with a house almost as large as my log house, divided into two rooms,† where we are snug as pokers.—Peter Ryerson will give you a description of the whole business. He returns to [New] York to settle his own affairs. I've told him to apply to you and if you do anything for him give me an order for the fees as I have had a number of things of him. He has been very useful to us. What shall I say to you my friend—When I recollect the enormous obligations which I am under to Tom Coffin and yourself I am overwhelm'd—they make me cry By Heaven.

When I arrive at Halifax I shall write you very particularly, at present I have no time. Adieu my dear Chip and Coffin, may God Almighty prosper you more than he has done.

Your most grateful & affect.

Ed. Winslow.

Edward Winslow to Thomas A. Coffin and Ward Chipman.

[First part missing; written probably in May, 1783].

* * * I intended to write to you Tom Coffin particularly but I really am unable to the task. I however must tell somebody that the Capt. of the ship Peggy‡ is the most extraordinary character in the world—'tis impossible to give an idea of his attention, uncommon generosity and kindness to the unfortunate who came with us. Tell this to Mr. Watson, because he loves to hear of benevolent actions.

*The reference is to Col. John Small commanding the Young Royal Highland Emigrants, or 84th regiment, then in garrison at Halifax. He is frequently mentioned in Murdoch's History of Nova Scotia. Some account of the corps will be found in Patterson's History of Pictou, N. S., pp. 120-122. Colonel Small was appointed lieutenant governor and commander in chief of the Island of Guernsey in 1793. See this book under date Jan. 2, 1794.

†The house was enlarged and improved by Colonel Winslow; he gives a humorous description of it under date 29th April, 1785, in this book. It was situated in Granville, directly opposite Annapolis.

‡Captain Jacob Wilson. See letter under date 7th July, 1783, in this book. The ship Peggy evidently brought a number of distressed Loyalists to Annapolis. Brook Watson, as commissary at New York, received the applications of those desirous of going to Nova Scotia and made arrangements for provisioning them on the voyage and after their arrival. In a letter to Rev. Dr. Brown, written in July, 1791, Watson observes: "In 1783, as commissary general to the army serving in North America, it became my duty, under the command of Sir Guy Carleton, now Lord Dorchester, to embark 35,000 Loyalists at New York to take shelter in Nova Scotia."

[To] Chip again;—If Ryerson* returns to this place do contrive to send by him a little brown sugar, molasses & Indigo, which I cannot buy here at any rate. Pop, who has had a terrible time of it and has discovered more fortitude than ever any women possessed, begs to be remembered to you both. Tell Mr. Townsend that if he'll send me his seine he'll make my fortune & I'll pay for it in fish & cranberries. To him, Chew, Brinley, the Coffins and everybody else say all that's affectionate. Should Ryerson be puzzled about the settlement of his affairs speak to Upham for him. Do Chip, if anything is to be issued from the public stores—such as tools, blankets, or any other kind of thing, receive 'em for me & send 'em here. We are monstrous poor. I have not a spade, hoe, axe or any article of any kind. I've borrowed for the present. A waggon would be of immense consequence. Gilfillan offered one to Col. DeLancey* and he omitted bringing it. Blankets are so dear that I can't think of purchasing & we are badly off. If I'd a boat I would not envy the Great Mogul. I live directly opposite the town of Annapolis. The river not half a mile wide & the ferriage is 8 pence; I can't afford it. I won't bore you. If anything can be got I'm sure you'll send it. * *

Joshua Loring† to Col. E. Winslow.

London, Chidley Court, Pall Mall,

29th May, 1783.

Dear Winslow—I take the chance of this meeting you in New York to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 16th March. I most sincerely participate in your anxiety for the fate of the Loyalists going to Nova Scotia, of which number you think of making one. I well know your enterprising spirit and ability to effect anything you undertake, but I wish your views had in the first instance been directed to the fountain head, for I fear in that remote part merit will be lost; I should therefore

*Probably Peter Ryerson is here meant. He is mentioned in Winslow's letter to Ward Chipman under date 15th May, 1783, in this book. I find, however, in the muster roll of DeLancey's 3rd battalion of August 24, 1783, that one Martin Ryerson, of Capt. Allison's company, is marked as being "With Colonel Winslow in Nova Scotia."—W. O. R.

†Joshua Loring of Boston. He was born in 1737; bred a merchant, married a Miss Lloyd, a very handsome woman, but very gay and reckless. A British officer stated that she lost 300 guineas at cards at a single sitting. Her name is unpleasantly associated with that of Sir William Howe. See Jones' Loyalist History of New York. On the evacuation of Boston, Joshua Loring accompanied the army to Halifax and thence to New York. He was appointed commissary of prisoners by Sir William Howe, and is believed to have been humane in the transaction of his office, although some American writers have asserted the contrary. He was a friend of Edward Winslow and of Sir John Wentworth. He had by his wife two sons, John Wentworth and Henry Lloyd Loring. The latter was a Church of England clergyman, who became Archdeacon of Calcutta. Joshua Loring died in England in 1789.

recommend a personal application here in preference to that retirement. You have pretentions and you have Friends, but they will not stir without being pushed on; of this number I can assure you Sir Wm. Howe is one, and asked me after you the first moment I saw him, but with the present ministry he has not interest to do the most trifling thing on earth for any friend, but on the contrary I expect every hour to hear of his losing his own appointment as Lt. Gen'l of the Ordnance. I have conferred with McKenzie & Balfour* & they both think with me that you should come as early as possible; they are as much as ever your friends, & altho' possessed of no great interest, yet they may assist you with their advice. Gen'l Gage has no interest, altho' Lord Percy has, and I think that you will hear ere long of his having some appointment in the administration and I am well informed by a gentleman, who dined with him a few days ago, that he mentioned you in handsome terms, therefore I think the sooner you could attend the better. Surely you can get a passage on board some Man of War or Transport without any expense, and if I dare recommend, it would be to come disincumbered. Chipman I know to be your warm friend & I think would take care of your family till you could see what was likely to be done for you, but of this and every other matter you must be the best judge, I can only offer my opinion, having no interest whatever and I fear little prospect of getting half pay. However there is a prospect of some Compensation being made to the Loyalists, which at present is my only hope. Give my best regards to Chipman & any other friends with you, being with real regard.

Your faithful & affectionate friend,

Jos'a Loring.

P. S. By all means keep well with Watson† & Sir Guy Carleton and get their recommendations which will be of the greatest consequence to you, & if you can think of any appointment at Nova Scotia, get appointed by Sir Guy Carleton & recommended for it here, which I have not the least doubt would be immediately confirmed.

*Major McKenzie was deputy adjutant general of the forces. Captain William Balfour held a commission in the 51st regiment; he afterwards rose to the rank of major general, and in 1811 was administrator of the government of New Brunswick.

†Brook Watson, whose romantic career is well known, was born at Plymouth, in England, in 1735. His parents died when he was not more than ten years of age, and he was sent out to Boston to a Mr. Levens. He was sent to sea and at Savannah had a leg bitten off by a shark while bathing in the harbor. In 1750 he came to Cumberland County, N. S., where he was employed in military service under Col. John Winslow. During the Revolutionary war he was commissary at New York (1781-1783). At the peace he retired to England, where he was, not long afterwards, elected to parliament as a member for Poole. He was knighted and became lord mayor of London. He was a warm friend of the elder Edward Winslow and of his family. For further account of Brook Watson see New Brunswick Magazine for August, 1898, p. 96.

Edward Winslow to Ben. Marston.*

Halifax 30th May, 1783.

Dear Marston—I was really distress'd at not finding you here on my arrival, having a monstrous deal to say to you.

The Governor, by whom this letter will be delivered—has (from some cause or other) been pleased to honor me with very particular marks of attention. He appears to be particularly anxious to contribute everything in his power to the assistance of the settlers of Port Roseway,† & he seems to regret that there is not a sufficient proportion of men of education & abilities among the present adventurers. It was his request that I would point out some man on whom he could confide for information & who would candidly & ingenuously communicate such circumstances as were important. I did not hesitate a moment at making the inclos'd memoranda.

Now my dear friend I know how you hate all mere matters of ceremony—so do I—but 'tis my maxim that when I can serve my country or my friends to make little sacrifices of my own feelings.

When the Governor arrives wait on him—offer your services—tell him everything which 'tis necessary for him to know—ask anything for yourself that you may want, &c. &c &c. He is certainly a most frank, honest, worthy man.

Pardon me Marston for presuming to dictate in any instance to you —In this haste I can't say enough. The Gov'r will tell you what our plan of operations is.

Most sincerely & cordially,

Yours. Ed. Winslow.

[Inclosed Memoranda.] Mr. Winslow presents his most respectful compliments to His Excellency Governor Parr, and begs leave to recommend to his notice Benj. Marston, Esq., (now residing at Port Roseway.)

Mr. Marston is a gentleman of liberal education, was formerly an eminent merchant at Marblehead in the province of Massachusetts Bay, and was employed in various public offices there.

He was distinguished as a magistrate for his zealous & spirited exertions, and always supported the character of a man of integrity.

*Benjamin Marston was a merchant and leading magistrate at Marblehead. He was a cousin of Edward Winslow, and is frequently mentioned in these pages. Full particulars of his chequered and adventurous career are contained in the paper read by the writer of these notes before the Nova Scotia Historical Society, shortly to be printed. See also under date May 13th, 1794, and elsewhere in this book.

†Port Roseway was the old name of Shelburne, N. S.

Ward Chipman to Hodgson, & Co.

New York, 31st May, 1783.

Gentlemen,— * * *

It is now thought to be impossible to evacuate this place sooner than the latter end of September. I shall remain till the last embarkation, when I shall probably sail for England unless there is a great change in the temper and conduct of the Americans who are at present very violent & threaten proscription & exile to every man who has adhered to the King's cause. In the mean time you may rest assured of every attention in my power to your interest and that I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient
& faithful humble servant,
Ward Chipman.

Lt. Col. Isaac Allen* to Edward Winslow.

Dr. Sir,—George Black a free man his wife & two children came with me to this place: he has long been free and was one of the brave fellows who served under the gallant Col. Tye; I think he deserves Provision as well as other Refugees. If you should be of the same opinion pray be so good as to say a word for him. I am now obliged to write surrounded by my work people. I wish much to see our friend Murray I fear they will all starve before Spring; my people consume two rations a day—for Heaven's sake think of that matter & endeavor to prevent so great a calamity. There should be something done to assist those who are not able to purchase—You may depend upon it that the soldiers Rations will not do where a man can procure no assistance from Labor or Plundering.

Yours,
I. Allen.

[The above is endorsed in Winslow's hand writing, "Col. Allen, June 1783"—It was filed along with other letters and endorsed "Private letters from June 1st to Dec. 31st, 1783."]

Lt. Col. Benjamin Thompson to Edward Winslow.

Pall Mall Court, 6th June, 1783.

My dear Winslow—I have this moment received your letter of the 27th April. Be sure my good friend I will not forget you. I shall deliver

*Lieut. Colonel Isaac Allen of Pennsylvania commanded the third battalion of the New Jersey Volunteers. He served with much credit during the war, and came to St. John in 1783 as one of the agents for settling the Loyalist regiments on the St. John river. He himself at first settled at Wilmot, N. S., but afterwards removed to Kingsclear, above Fredericton, where many of his regiment also settled. He was appointed in the year 1784 one of the first judges of the supreme court of New Brunswick. The late Sir John C. Allen, chief justice of the province, was his grandson.

your memorial to Gen. Conway* and have no doubt but it will be attended to. It is the general opinion that all the Provincial officers will get half-pay. The matter is to be moved in the House of Commons next week and Ministers will support the measure, General Conway I hear is to take the lead—He is perfectly disposed to serve us. The Loyalists residing in this Country have presented a petition to Parliament wherein the Provincials† are mentioned—I thought the Provincials had better stand upon their own bottom and accordingly waited upon Lord North and requested that our memorial, recommended by Sir Guy Carleton, might be taken into consideration before the Petition of the Loyalists should be brought forward or at least at the same time.

9th June. I have made out copies of yours and Chipman's memorials and addressed them to Lord North, which I shall deliver tomorrow—This will not prevent my delivering the originals to Gen'l Conway the moment he comes to Town which will be Thursday next—this is Monday. I have no doubt but we shall get half-pay and Permanent Rank for all the Provincial Officers and it is impossible but you must be included with your Deputies. Your friends here wish you would take a trip to England. I had a long conversation with Balfour about you and he is fully of that opinion. Lord Percy is your friend, he has great influence with ministers and if you were on the spot I am confident he would push you into some comfortable office either civil or military. They talk of new arrangements respecting Nova Scotia. I wish you were here to take advantage of any favorable circumstance that may turn up. It shall cost you nothing for a Lodging; half of mine is perfectly at your service, and it is the pleasantest and best situated in London.‡ My servant shall attend you and we can contrive to live for a little money. Adieu, I begin a new Letter for reasons you will divine.

Yours, &c, &c,

B. Thompson.

*General Henry S. Conway, at this time the secretary of state.

†The term "Provincials" is synonymous with "British American Regiments" or "Loyalist Troops."

‡Edward Winslow's devotion to the welfare of the Loyalists led him to remain at this time in Nova Scotia, where he materially assisted in their settlement. It can hardly be doubted that had he gone to England he would with his natural address and capacity to please, aided by the assistance of influential friends, have secured some appointment by which he would have been spared many of his subsequent difficulties.

Col. Benjamin Thompson* to Lord North.

Pall Mall Court 8th June, 1783.

My Lord,—Having assisted in drawing up the Representation and Petition of the Commanding Officers of His Majesty's Provincial Regiments in North America, and having been desired by them to solicit for them in this Country that the Prayer of their Petition be granted, I take the liberty of troubling your Lordship upon that Subject.

The situations of the Provincial Officers, particularly such of them as are Natives, or were formerly Inhabitants of the American Colonies, is truly distressing. Having sacrificed their Property, and all their expectations from their Rank and Connections in civil Society; and being cut off from all hope of returning to their former homes, by the Articles of the Peace; they have no hope left but in the justice and humanity of the British Nation.

I will not trouble your Lordship with an account either of their services or sufferings; their merit as well as their misfortunes are known to the whole world; and I believe their claim upon the humanity, and upon the justice of this Country will not be disputed.

They have stated their situation in a strong, but at the same time in a most respectful manner in their Representation, which I am informed has been transmitted to His Majesty's Secretary of State by Sir Guy Carleton, and strongly recommended.

As they are extremely anxious to know their fate, I am to request of Your Lordship, that I may be informed whether any, and what resolutions have been taken relative to their Petition, and whether their Claims of permanent Rank in America, and half-pay upon the reduction of their Regiments, will meet with the countenance and support of His Majesty's Ministers.

I know Your Lordship will excuse the liberty I take in troubling You upon this occasion, particularly as you will see by the inclosed Extract of a Letter I have just received from New York, how anxious the Provincial Officers are, and how much they expect that I should exert myself in their behalf.

If Your Lordship should wish for any further information respecting

*The romantic career of SirBenjamin Thompson is well known, and frequent references to him will be found in the pages that follow. He was born in Massachusetts in 1753, went to England during the war and became a protege of Lord George Germaine. He returned to New York early in 1781 and raised a regiment known as the King's American Dragoons, of which he was gazetted colonel and in which many Massachusetts men held commissions. At the close of the war he was knighted. He became a favorite with the Duke of Bavaria, who bestowed on him high rank and the title of Count Rumford. He became one of the leading European scientists, and at his death bequeathed a handsome sum to Harvard College, where a professorship now bears his name. See references to him in this book under date 17th May, 1800.

the Provincial Troops, I will do myself the honor of attending You at any time you may appoint.

Inclosed I have the honor to transmit to your Lordship two Memorials, one from the Muster-Master-General of His Majesty's Provincial Forces in North America, the other from his Deputy. I know them both to be very deserving of the favor and protection of Government—The former, Colonel Winslow, signed the general Representation in behalf of the Provincial Line, and of course was included in Sir Guy Carleton's recommendation. As his is a military Appointment by Commission from the Commander in Chief in America, as well as that of the Inspector General of the Provincial Forces, I should suppose they would both be included, with their Deputies, should half-pay be given to the Provincial Officers in general.

I have the honor to be with the greatest Respect My Lord,
Your Lordships most obedient and most humble Servant

B. Thompson, Lt. Col.
Commandant King's A. Drag's.

The Right Honorable Lord North,
One of His Majesty's Principal
Secretarys of State &c, &c, &c.

Lt. Col. B. Thompson to Ward Chipman.

Pall Mall Court, 9th June, 1783.

My dear Chip—I have received your letter and shall attend to your wishes. I shall deliver your memorial with my own hands to General Conway and I have made out a copy of it addressed to Lord North which I mean to present to his Lordship this day. I have done the same with Winslow's. I have no doubt of your success. Indeed it is my firm belief that all the Provincial officers will get half-pay and of course you among the rest. I have wrote a letter to Lord North upon this subject, a copy of which I inclose, you may make any use of it amongst the Provincial Officers you may think proper—If they could write to me frequently & in strong language upon the subject I could and would make a very good use of their letters—I will not be idle nor rest satisfied so long as my services can be of any use to my deserving Countrymen. My own Regimental affairs were settled by the late Administration. We are upon the American Establishment.*

*Meaning that his regiment, the King's American Dragoons, had been gazetted for half pay.

Make my best compliments to Colonels Ludlow, Robinson, Cruger*—if he is at New York, and to all my old friends. Believe me ever my dear Chip—

Most sincerely and most affectionately yours,

B. Thompson.

Edward Winslow, Sr., to Edward Winslow, Jun.

Bowery, 20th June, 1783.

My dear Son,—The Commissary General† called upon me last evening and informed me a vessel would sail this day for St. John's. He also tells me you wrote to him in good health and spirits which affords me great pleasure. This is my third letter since you left us—the other two were sent to Halifax to care of Dr. Prince; I have two from you, leaving one due to me which I hope you will pay very soon. Our family are in the enjoyment of health and much happier at the Bowery than at the City. I have a very good garden, quantities of best of cherries—your cow gives us plenty of milk. Your horse very good in a carriage but very wicked out of it. Your chair answers all the purposes of visiting the City in. the chairs you left were never in my possession, Capt. Fred Phillips having delivered them to a man whose name I have forgotten and who he said had a right to them.

I hope this will find you at St. John's. The violence and malice of the Rebel Government against the Loyalists render it impossible ever to think of joining them again.

I hope it will be in your power to provide for us some place where we may enjoy the society of a few friends. I expect your mother next week with Hester and Daphne,‡ she will come via Rhode Island attended by Capt. Horsfield & Lady. We have a round of afternon and evening visitors, I seldom go to the city. The Commander in Chief and Commissary General are now neighbors—the first where Governor Robinson lived and the latter where Major Coffin lived last summer. They frequently call and never fail to speak in your praise. Old friends are leaving us. Judge Ludlow sailed for Great Britain yesterday. I am told Col. Robinson and Col. Ludlow are soon to follow. May Heaven bless prosper & preserve my Son is the Prayer of your Father,

Ed'wd Winslow.

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*The officers here named are Col. Gabriel G. Ludlow, commanding the 3rd battalion of DeLancey's brigade; Colonel Beverly Robinson, of the Loyal American Regiment; and Lieut. Colonel John Harris Cruger, of the 1st battalion of DeLancey's brigade.

†Brook Watson.

‡Colonel Winslow's mother seems to have remained in Massachusetts for a little while, or to have been there at this time. No doubt Hester and Daphne were black servants in the family.

James Cruden to Edward Winslow.

New York, June 23rd, 1783.

Dear Sir,—Permit me to introduce to your acquaintance my friend Mr. George McCree, who will adorn the number of those who from principles of virtuous Loyalty fly from a set of miscreants—who have substituted anarchy and misrule in the place of good Government.

As your influence is extensive (as it of right ought) you may be of service to the Bearer. He is by profession a Merchant, and in as much as your goodness shall induce you to forward His views, will much oblige me. Hoping soon to see you in England I shall only add, God bless you, and beg that you will allow me ever to remain—with exalted esteem and perfect respect.

Dear Sir,
Your very obedient
and faithful servant,
J. A. Cruden.

Ward Chipman to Edward Winslow.

New York, 25th June, 1783.

Dear Winslow,—We have perhaps done wrong but your friend Judge Ludlow & myself have committed you in a very important instance. To prevent any suspense I will in a few words tell you that B. Gen'l Fox* is to be Commander in Chief at Halifax which is now become a post of the first consequence in the military line, and you are engaged as Secretary to the command. Ludlow, both indeed the Judge and Colonel,† proposed the matter to Me—not thinking your engagements would admit of your accepting it; it appeared to me an object sufficient to induce me to relinquish all my present pursuits, and I was advised & determined to accept it and could I have managed the matter without resigning my appointment as Deputy Muster Master I certainly should have gone—But Mr. Watson told me he was satisfied the Gen'l would not appoint any one here to do the duty but upon my resignation. Mr. Finucane,‡ the former Secretary, petitioned the Com. in Chief for a continuance, but could not obtain it as Sir Guy left the choice altogether with Gen. Fox; applications

*Brigadier General Henry E. Fox was a brother of the well known statesman, Charles James Fox. He was a warm personal friend of Edward Winslow.

†The reference is to George Duncan Ludlow and his brother Colonel Gabriel G. Ludlow. The former became the first chief justice of New Brunswick, the latter was first mayor of the city of St. John, and for many years administrator of the government while Lieut. Gov. Carleton was absent in England. See Lawrence's Foot Prints at pp. 10-12 and 100.

‡Andrew Finucane, a brother of Chief Justice Bryan Finucane, of Halifax, N. S.

& solicitations from officers in the army were making to Fox from all quarters. I requested the Judge to mention you to Gen. Fox, who most readily acceded if the Judge could engage for your undertaking it, as he could then give a decisive answer to any further applications. I without hesitation told the Judge I would pledge myself for your accepting it, he has accordingly committed you with Gen'l Fox, and you must at least for some time comply with our engagements. Fox knows you are a man of business, and matters in the Secretary's office there are not a little deranged: he finds that he is to be in a responsible situation and wants a capable confidential Friend to assist him. I think you will have it in your power to bind him to you, & his interest is and will be the first in the nation. It will save you every expence of living in Halifax, will give you 10s. per day and will put it in your power to serve all your friends, then he knows all about your domestic connections, so that they will not occasion any difficulty or objection. I do not know my dear Ned what your plans or prospects are, I really thought this a most eligible opportunity to serve you; Fox is a man capable of the warmest attachments, and a very aspiring ambitious character, and if he chooses it, can no doubt by his Brother's* interest keep the command at Halifax—at any rate he does not mean to go home.

Think of the matter once & again and if you feel yourself inclined to refuse it—Be at least plausible and save the credit of your friends here in going so far in the business. If you undertake it, convince him you are everything he wants or wishes; humor the rage of public economy, be a man of business, indulge your convivial penchant with caution:—Excuse me my dear Fellow, if these hints are not necessary, they are well intended. Fox I believe only awaits the arrival of another Packet from England before he goes. I shall call on him when he comes to town and will keep you acquainted with everything that takes place.

Col. Robinson† and his family are sailed for England in the Lion. Judge Ludlow in the Packet. Col. Morris‡ and family and Col. Cruger are gone. Several empty transports arriving yesterday from England give us strong reason to suspect we shall all be off this fall. Everything here remains just as when you left us, the People in the Country growing more violent every day.

*Charles James Fox of parliamentary fame.

†Colonel Beverley Robinson, of New York, by his marriage with Susannah Philipse came into possession of a large landed estate on the Hudson river. He raised the Loyal American Regiment at the time of the Revolution, in which corps his son Beverley was lieutenant colonel and Thomas Barclay were major. Colonel Robinson's commission is dated March 28, 1777. There is a pretty full biography of him in Sabine's Loyalists of the American Revolution. His wife Susannah was one of the three women included in the New York confiscation act. The British government granted a sum equivalent to more than $80,000 as a partial compensation for his losses in consequence of his loyalty.

‡Colonel John Morris is here referred to. He commanded the second battalion of the New Jersey Volunteers. His commission is dated November, 1776.

Ryerson could not get his business done to go in the Ranger but will follow soon with the articles I advised you of by that vessel.

Major Prevost* and myself set off on Monday upon a general muster. He desires me to tell you all the appointments you recommended in Bayard's corps have taken place yesterday except the Major's son, objected to by the Com'r in Chief on account of his age.

The Folks in the Bowery [Father's family] are all well and in very good spirits.

How do your little Folks & Pop†—remember me to them most affectionately. Write to me very particularly all about matters and things. I know not where to forward letters to you, whether to Annapolis, St. John's, or Halifax, but the latter I believe will be the most likely place for them to find you. I shall direct to the care of Johnson till I hear from you.

Adieu—

Yours most sincerely and affectionately,

Chip.

Major Aug. Prevost to Edward Winslow.

New York, 25th June, 1783.

My dear Sir,—I was favour'd with your letter by Mr. Buskirk, whose promotion is still pending—I reported on Major Bayard's memo. and have hopes it will succeed.

I am happy to find you have such flattering encouragement respecting your settlement on the River St. John—Your good offices in my favor will ever be gratefully acknowledged. I am determined on fulfilling the conditions of the Grant should you succeed in locating a tract worth improving, and to be guided by your friendly advice respecting the same—any expences attending your obtaining, dividing, &c, &c, I pray you to draw on Ed. Goold Esq. at this place who has my instructions to pay the same at five days sight.

You will be pleased to observe, should you find it necessary, that the lands granted me by Government at the close of the last War cost me nearly eighty five guineas—that the same are now made over by this infamous treaty and given away to the Spaniards by the loss of the Floridas. I only mention this to show I have some pretensions which I wish you to avail yourself of. My very worthy friend the Lt. Governor will if arrived enforce in my behalf any memor'l that may be necessary to give in.

*Major Augustin Prevost of the 3rd battalion of the Royal American (or 60th) Regiment. He was deputy inspector general of the Loyalist troops during the war.

†The reference is to Winslow's wife Polly or Mary.

I now beg to apologise for the liberty I take in giving you, my Dear Sir, so much trouble: be assured I will be happy in every opportunity of giving you assurance of my respectful gratitude having the honor to be most faithfully

Your most obliged servant,

Aug. Prevost.

Memorial of Colonel Winslow & Major Murray.

To His Excellency John Parr, Esquire, Captain General, Governor and Comander in Chief in and over His Majesty's Province of Nova Scotia and its Dependencies, Chancellor & Vice Admiral of the same, &c, &c, &c.

Edward Winslow Jun'r, Esq., late Commissary General of Musters for His Majesty's British American Forces, and Daniel Murray, Major, and late Commanding the King's American Dragoons—beg leave to represent:

That during the War in America they have served their Sovereign with fidelity and have been honored with the repeated approbation of their superiors; that they are now deprived of fortunes acquired by their ancestors and are dismissed from their military employments; that governed by the same attachment to the British constitution which excited them to sacrifice their property and expose their lives they are anxious to obtain a settlement in the Province of Nova Scotia under your Excellency's direction, for which purpose they have personally explored a country 125 miles from the mouth of the river St. John's, the boundaries of which are described in the inclosed paper. They hope for your Excellency's permission to form this tract into a township and to dignify it with the name of Prince-William.* In the list of their Associates they are permitted to insert the names of the Honorable Brig. Gen. Fox, Brig. Gen. Clarke, and Brig. Gen. Musgrave. The other persons named have served in various capacities, have lost their all, and are determined to make the most zealous exertions to forward the settlement. The land for which they solicit your Excellency's grant was never located; it is nearly in the centre of that country which your Excellency has been pleased to point out for the accommodation of His Majesty's Provincial corps, and your memorialists presume that by commencing spirited operations there they shall give a spring to the general settlement and essentially serve the public. They are ready to stipulate with your Excellency in the first place to provide with lots in proportion to their rank all the officers and men of the

*The parish of Prince William derived its name from the township here mentioned. The royal patron of the King's American Dragoons was Prince William, afterwards William the IV. of England. The King's American Dragoons came to the St. John river under the command of Major Daniel Murray, and many of their descendants are living today in the parish of Prince William.

King's American Dragoons, who may be found actually resident there in the month of May next, and to procure within any reasonable time such a number of settlers in addition as your Excellency may think necessary after obtaining particular information of the quality of the soil and other circumstances, and to comply with other customary terms of settlement.

Your memorialists therefore request that your Excellency will be pleased to grant them and their associates on the conditions herein mentioned, the tract of land described by John Davidson,* Esq., Deputy Surveyor, and that your Excellency would be pleased to send some judicious public officer of your province as early as the season will admit to join with your memorialists, or such others of the associates as your Excellency may prefer, in making an impartial distribution of the land among such persons as your Excellency may think are entitled thereto and in such proportions as to your Excellency may seem just.

[The foregoing in the original is a rough draft with some erasures and interlineations. It is undated but was written in the year 1783.]

Edward Winslow to Ward Chipman.

River St. John's 7th July, 1783.

My dear fellow,—I find that the Brig Ranger is detained by a contrary wind, I therefore make this small addition to my last.

If the ship Peggy, Capt. Jacob Wilson, returns to this place or Annapolis, the honest man who commands her will readily receive anything that is intended for me. I have a considerable stock of pigs and poultry which are my principal dependence for the winter, and grain of all kinds is so scarce and dear here that I fear they will suffer. Should it be practicable to buy for me a few Hhds of Indian corn, pease or anything else that's eatable for them, it will relieve me. If accident throws that same Wilson in your way, tell him how grateful I feel, for the most uncommon attention that ever so rough a fellow exhibited.

Should you see my friend Major Hanger,† I'll thank you to acquaint him that the respectable gentleman who once attended him in quality of a Groom by the name of Newton, has formed a very advantageous connection in this province with the widow of a half pay officer by the name

*John Davidson was a lieutenant in the King's American Dragoons. He was a native of New Hampshire and educated as a surveyor. He settled in Dumfries, York County, near Colonel Jacob Ellegood. He was a member of the house of assembly for York County in 1802, and in his day a very active and useful citizen.

†Hon. George Hanger, an English officer, was appointed major in the British Legion May 24, 1780. He went with the corps to Port Matoon, in Nova Scotia, but the place proved very unsuitable for a settlement and the majority removed elsewhere in 1784.

of Munroe, by which he is in possession of a very excellent house handsomely furnished, good stables and the most delightfully situated farms on the Annapolis River. He introduced himself to the lady by affirming "that he was particularly connected with the hono'ble Major Hanger—that his circumstances were rather affluent, having served in a money making department, and that he had left a very considerable property behind him"—for all which particulars he did me the honor to refer to me. As I was not intimately acquainted with Mr. Newton, but had only casually heard anecdotes of him, I could not vouch for every circumstance, I however assured the lady's messenger that he really had been connected with Major Hanger, that he had made money, and that he had left a large property behind him.

The nuptials were immediately celebrated with great pomp and Mr. Newton is at present a gentleman of consideration in Nova Scotia and apparently a very happy man, and should his honorable friend the Major be under a necessity of visiting this country I have no doubt that he would experience every mark of attention from him and his lady (who is by no means a bad piece.)

A violent cold has hindered me from accompanying Barclay* and Murray on a cruize by water. I am nursing myself and shall be ready to move up the river in a few days. I never saw a set of men more perfectly satisfy'd than those of Thompson's regt.,† not a murmur is heard among them and they received me in a kind of stile that afforded me infinite pleasure.

Yesterday I had the honor of being introduced to three Indian Chiefs, a high priest, squaws and attendants, it really was ridiculous enough. A relation of the particulars may afford fun at some future day. I would have given a year's lease of my life that Nat. Coffin, Fred Philips and yourself had been spectators of the business. I could write eternally to you.

E. W.

P. S. If a small stove for a room can be obtained, send it to me to Annapolis.

*Major Thomas Barclay was a son of Rev. Henry Barclay, D. D., rector of Trinity church, New York. He was a graduate of Columbia College and a law student of the celebrated John Jay. He was gazetted captain in the Loyal American Regiment April 10, 1777, and promoted major October 7, 1777. Later he commanded the Provincial Light Infantry, a corps formed by taking from each Loyalist battalion its light infantry company, and combining them into one organization. This corps saw much service in Georgia and the Carolinas. He settled at Annapolis in 1783, and at once began to fill a prominent place in political life and in public affairs. He was for many years speaker of the house of assembly and adjutant general of militia. He was British commissioner at the time of the adjustment of the international boundary dispute in 1796. For further particulars of Colonel Barclay see Sabine's Loyalists, Murdoch's History of Nova Scotia and Calnek and Savary's History of Annapolis.

†Colonel Benjamin Thompson's corps was known as the King's American Dragoons.

Edward Winslow to Ward Chipman.

River St. John's 7th July, 1783.

That's a good fellow Chip, a long letter from an old friend received in this desert is like a glimpse of glory. I know Tom Coffin would write if he could. I am sorry you'd so much trouble in effecting the business I wrote you about by Ryerson. I did not intend it.

You have gratified me much by the account given me of my father's situation and the state of the family—would to God the comfort they now enjoy could be continued to them. Is there any chance my dear Chip that recompence will be made to the Loyalists by Government? Will it be possible for my poor father to obtain only a sufficiency to support him in England for a little time? If so will it not be best for him to go there? What can I do for them, Chip? I should merit the curse of all of 'em were I to give the least encouragement for them to come here. The mortifications which I experience and laugh at would be insupportable to them; the whole country is crowded, the towns are expensive beyond belief, they can't live on rations, nor in sodded huts. If it is fashionable or necessary to make representations of sufferings I am sure you will do it for him. Suppose he obtains any part of a single thousand pounds it will be enough. He can get nothing here; it will be half an eternity before any man will be worth a third of that money. Perhaps in a few years the present savage appearance of this country may in some degree be changed and I may offer them an asylum. Penny's good sense enables her to see this business in a proper light. You must settle it among you; they all know that if anything is done for me in England it will be for their benefit,—I'll have done with this subject. * * *

I saw your new appointment with pleasure. May your consequence be increased until your ambition is satisfy'd and then I think you'll be a pretty consequential fellow. I like your scheme of going to England. I'll not be too sanguine in my opinions—I do think this province ere long will be a good stage for abilities like yours to exhibit upon. The present Att. Gen.* here is an ignorant harmless nincompoop and the Sol. Gen. is a great lubberly insolent irish rebel,† indeed I do not find that there's a man of any consequence in the profession. Sterns is the most so (really) at Halifax. When the variety of people who compose your garrison have scattered about in different parts of this province, I think a gentleman may find an eligible situation and in a good society but this is

*The attorney general here referred to was Richard Gibbons. He was appointed chief justice of Cape Breton December 24, 1784, and Sampson Salter Blowers succeeded him as attorney general of Nova Scotia.

†The reference is to Richard John Uniacke. See collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Socley, vol. ix., p. 83.

a subject that shall be treated on largely and deliberately—at present I am in a camp where one man is laying out roads, another building boats. &c.

You wish to know what are my views, plans and prospects. In a few words my faithful friend, In the situation I left, my views were at an end, I had no plans and my prospects were blacker than hell. I knew that the appointment of agent to the Provincials would give me consequence here and furnish employment for my mind. Hitherto everything has happened as I could have wished, the reception I met with from the General, Governor, and all the great people in the country was beyond my most sanguine expectations, it has revived all my old spirits and I have adopted a style that would astonish you. There's not a man from this quarter that presumes to solicit from head Quarters without my recommendation and I have effected some business for meritorious characters which has afforded me vast pleasure. Our old friend Marston has felt the benefit of a pointed application to the Governor without his knowledge. He is appointed a chief Magistrate, or a kind of Governor-General, at Port Roseway and is a confidential man with Governor Parr. I am particularly gratify'd at this circumstance for various reasons.

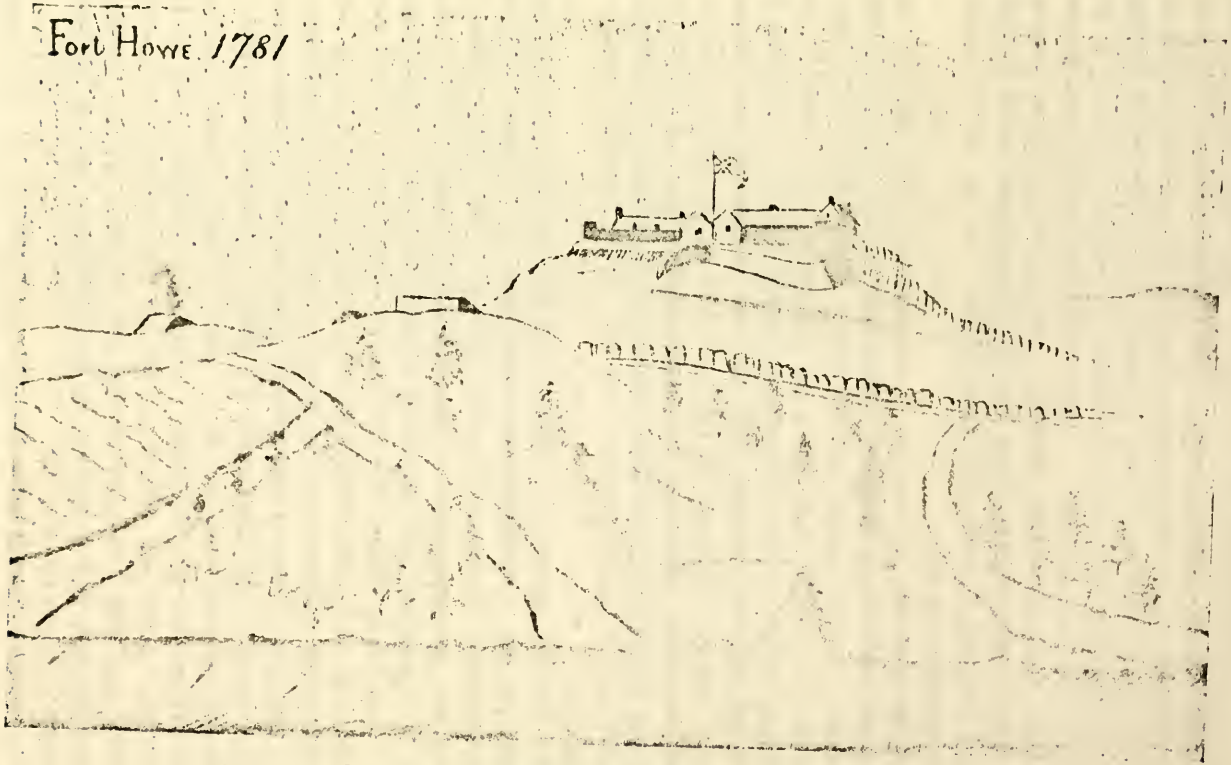
We have just begun our operations in the land way, the people who have arrived here are prodigiously pleased with the country and I shall certainly soon be possessed of a good farm, and if we've our half pay I will be more than comfortable. I have left those sweet little ones in as comfortable a place as is in this province, made so by own exertions. I found a house and hired it for £6 a year and I've taken a lease for two years. I added two rooms and a chimney and have now a spare bed room at your service, 'tis just on the bank of a most beautiful river immediately opposite the town of Annapolis. I have left Thomson's William* (r Qr. Mr.) to superintend, and mother Silk† & little George. We ha plenty of poultry, a good garden and such a variety of fish as you neve saw, and I have built a tolerable boat. So much for the family.

On this side of the Bay of Fundy I am speculating pretty largely. I have taken three town lots on the West side of the river,‡ in the most delightful situations I ever saw, for myself, Major Coffin and Col. Ludlow, on condition to build a tenantable house on each within six months. Coffin's is already in some forwardness and my own and Major Murray's will soon make a figure. Should our farms in the general division fall at a distance from this, we cannot lose by the exertion; the houses will cost but a very trifle, and those who are obliged to come without such

*Lieut. Colonel Benjamin Thompson's servant or groom. See letter under date 2nd August, 1783, in this book.

†Evidently a black servant, probably a slave.

‡These lots were on the west side of St. John harbor, in Carleton.



FORT HOWE.

From a sketch by Benj. Marston in 1781.

covering prepared will be glad to pay the expense. I am at present at Murray's Quarters in a township which we shall lay out for the provincials and we have already cut a road from his camp to the river about three miles.

I will not aim at a description of this business. We cut yesterday with about 120 men more than a mile thro' a forest hitherto deemed impenetrable. When we emerged from it, there opened a prospect superior to anything in the world I believe. A perfect view of the immense Bay of Fundy on one side, a very extensive view of the river St. John's with the Falls, grand Lake [or Bay] and Islands on the other—in front the Fort, which is a beautiful object on a high hill, and all settlements about the town with the ships, boats, &c, in the harbour—'twas positively the most magnificent and romantic scene I have ever beheld. Our town is to be on the slope of this hill and you shall have a house in it whether you ever see it or not by Jupiter. I shall look in future with extreme contempt on your poetical descriptions of your pussy, meandering, serpentine, purling rills, &c,—any man, woman or child that has not a stranguary can make such in a minute—but on viewing a prospect like this an infidel would acknowledge that only God could effect it.

Thank you for the articles you sent me. I am infinitely obliged to Tom Coffin for the encouragement about the seine and boat, and to Gilfillan; you cannot imagine of how much consequence such things are. Should the post be abandoned this fall I am sure I shall not be forgotten. Send me anything in the world that you can procure without expense. With respect to cash Chip, I have done monstrously well—the tour to Halifax was d——d expensive, but I am determined to be repaid. The 30 Guineas I received of you and 25 out of the abstract, has hitherto answered my purpose, for building houses, boats, supporting family and travelling expenses, and as I am now in a wilderness I shall make out till my own subsistence is due.

I have received a letter from Fred Phillips of an old date, I cannot find by that or yours whether he is absolutely determined to go to England or not. I promised him letters he knows how interested I am in everything which concerns him. I have postponed sending them because it is my intention, as we survey the different townships and cruise in the different rivers to form as elegant a description of them as is possible with the assistance of a most able hand who is retained in my service for that purpose, these I shall transmit to Great Britain to my Lord Percy by him, and I am determined at all events to distinguish myself by proposing a plan which affords the grandest field for speculation that ever offered. Take the general map of this province (even as it is now

bounded), observe how detached this part is from the rest, how vastly extensive it is, notice the rivers, harbours, &c., Consider the numberless inconveniences that must arise from its remoteness from the metropolis and the difficulty of communication. Think what multitudes have and will come here, and then judge whether it must not from the nature of things immediately become a separate government,* and if it does it shall be the most Gentlemanlike one on earth. Suppose you and he go to England after being provided with the necessary facts, can you be better employed than in a solicitation of this kind properly authorized. You know how Industrious I can be if I please and you may rest assured I will pursue this project with unremitted attention. The people on the other side [the Bay] are already jealous, even the Gov'r fears it evidently, we have therefore been perfectly snug yet. Tell him (Fred) that the want of subjects to render my letters acceptable and of consequence was the only cause of my not forwarding them before. Fanning is expected every hour here and I could have wrote only to Innes a formal letter of recommendation which would not have satisfy'd my mind. I wish to be more serviceable to a man I love like him, I intended to have wrote him, I can't — do you give him a share of this. Acquaint him that White Stocking's colt is very ugly — to make up for it she has been maneuvred by Tartar — of course she will have an elegant one next time, this has been performed by consent of Council. She has never been saddled since she landed at Nova Scotia and is fatter than he ever saw her. The other is a very good horse.

Tell Tom Coffin that Miss Fanny was safely delivered of sixteen puppies — twelve of which were so handsome that a court martial that sat the day I left Annapolis, at which Lt. Col. DeLancey presided, could not agree to destroy any of 'em.

I wrote my father and sisters from Annapolis so lately that they must excuse me now.

Coffin, Brinley, Townsend, Chew, 'tother Fred,† everybody, will believe that I remember them affectionately.

I had a letter prepared for Mr. Watson which, from a circumstance that has lately taken place, I must defer sending by this conveyance. Say everything to him for me that gratitude can suggest and to that

*Anticipating the formation of a new province on the north side of the Bay of Fundy. The idea seems to have originated with Edward Winslow, who suggested it to Colonel Fox. This letter contains the first known direct reference to the subject.

†The names of these officers will be found among the correspondence of Edward Winslow. "T'other Fred" is explained by the fact that there were two captains named Frederick Phillips, one of them in the Loyal American Regiment and another in the King's American Dragoons. Both were Winslow's intimate friends and associates during the war.

best of friends Dr. Bailey, they will readily believe that I have little time to spare. I shall write Col. Ludlow a few lines—there is no Providence if he suffers.

Next time you write me inclose a short note to Pop — it will gratify her. If you had ever an esteem for her it will increase when you know with what perfect propriety she has conducted. Adieu, my friend — brother — everything,

Ed. Winslow.

This letter is a monster in every respect.

My Boy is not dead, thank Heaven, & Paddock* has gone to see him.

Letter of Edward Winslow.

St. John, July, 1783.

We shall tomorrow reconnoitre the township of Conway, which lies on the west side of the river St. John's bounded on that side by the river and running near west on the Bay of Fundy about 10 or 11 miles. Within it is a good Harbor called Musquash Cove where is a valuable tract of salt marsh, said to be 2,500 acres, and which in the opinion of many judicious persons may be easily dyked. At the head of the harbor is a river navigable for small vessels 6 or 7 miles and perfectly well calculated for mills. With these advantages we apprehend that this township may accommodate a considerable number of families, altho' it is generally supposed that the upland is not very good. Some of the best part of it on peninsula nearest to St. John's has been formerly granted and settlements have been made. I shall however be better able to give you an opinion on my return which I suppose will be in about 5 days. Murray is industriously employed with his whole regiment in cutting a road from hence to the old Fort on the Harbor of St. John's, which will be a prodigious service to the settlers at Musquash Cove. He intends extending it to the Cove by degrees. When we have completed the business in this quarter we shall * * * [Remainder wanting.]

*Doctor Adino Paddock was formerly of Boston. He was a son of Major Adino Paddock, who planted the Paddock elms in Tremont street, Boston. In 1779 he went to England and studied medicine and surgery. Returning to America he became surgeon in the King's American Dragoons. He settled after the war at St. John, N. B., but later went to St. Mary's, York Co., where he died. A son and grandson bore the name of "Adino;" both were physicians. The grandson, Dr. Adino Paddock, died at Kingston, N. B., in August, 1893. There was consequently a continuous practice of 110 years by the three Adino's, father, son, and grandson.

Edward Winslow to Joshua Upham.

[St. John's River July (?) 1783.]

[First part missing.] * * when we have ascertained its boundaries and estimated what proportion of it is worth cultivating, we mean immediately to divide it into as many farms as it will admit of — to have them numbered and to settle them with as much expedition as possible, and we shall pursue this method in the other tracts. The system we have adopted may be liable to some exceptions, but we are convinced of the necessity of being prepared to point out to the Provincial Regiments as they arrive here the tracts of Land on which they may settle. An inattention, or want of exertion in the Agents of the Refugees has been the cause of extreme distress to those who have already landed here. They are at present crowded into one spot without covering, and totally ignorant where they are eventually to settle, altho' two townships containing near 300,000 acres of the best land on the River St. John's has been long ago escheated at their application. Why, Upham, was not some man or men of consideration and spirit appointed to take the direction of these people? The Reverend Gentleman* who is the ostensible person, is certainly unequal to the task, and those who are doing the duty here are not the right kind of men — but this is a subject on which I have not time to speculate. I fear no difficulties in the business which I am engaged in. It is the source of infinite satisfaction that I am connected with two gentlemen whose sentiments in all important instances correspond with my own. Hitherto our matters have been conducted with great harmony of spirit, and I have no doubt that in a few weeks we shall be able to effect the grand object of our errand. I am gratified excessively at the situation and behaviour of your Regiment.† I never saw more cheerfulness and good humor than appears among the men. They are encamped on one of the pleasantest spots I ever beheld, and they are enjoying a great variety of what you Yorkers call luxuries — such as partridges, Salmon, Bass, Trout, Pigeons, &c. The whole regiment are this day employed in cutting and clearing a road to the river and Murray and I intend to ride tomorrow where never man rode before. Before you arrive I expect to have a town-Hut and country Hut, with a fine road from one to 'tother, and I shall be very happy to see you. The great Bell is already mounted. We are in some danger of losing it.

*The reference is to the Reverend John Sayre, who was an agent for settling the Loyalists at St. John. He died at Maugerville the following year. Prior to the Revolution he was rector of Fairfield, Connecticut. This town was destroyed by Gen. Tryon in July, 1779, and Mr. Sayre retired with the army. He went to Long Island, where he occasionally officiated to the loyal refugees. A pretty full account of Mr. Sayre will be found in Eaton's "Tory Clergy of the Revolution," and in Sabine's American Loyalists.

†The King's American Dragoons, in which corps Joshua Upham was a major.

The Parson Agent for the Refugees has purchased Loosely's* Organ and intends rigging it in a church on their side the River. Murray means to challenge him to play all fours who shall have both. If we win, our friend Odell's church will be complete; if we lose — why we'll have no church at all.

In your turn answer me — do you really intend coming to this country? If so, why not employ your regimental friends to build you a house? Will none of you believe that to save you from perdition, you can't find a house to put your heads in? Several of my friends have suggested that they wait my opinion of the country to enable them to decide, but it is a subject on which I will never give advice. 'Tis rather too important. I will say that personally nothing has happened to discourage my settling here, but on the contrary I am pleased, and was it not for the distress I feel for my parents and their family, I should be happy. That good old man & woman are too old and infirm to combat the difficulties which they must necessarily encounter in coming here, and my sisters I fear are unequal to the business. If they must remove I am clear they should go to England, government will not let them suffer, they have many valuable friends there and the difference of passage is inconsiderable. I depend on my friends to advise them for the best, it is a long time since I have ranked you in the number and on this occasion I am sure of your assistance. In anything command me, Upham; give me any opportunity and you shall have new proofs with what sincerity and truth I am

Your affect't Friend,

Edward Winslow.

Col. Thompson to Edward Winslow.

Pall Mall Court, 8th July, 1783.

My dear Winslow,—I congratulate you most sincerely upon the Grant of Parliament of half-pay to all the provincial officers. You and your Deputies and Mr. Bridgham, Colonel Innes's Deputy, are included. I formed the Estimate myself which was laid before the House of Commons, and neither Lord North, General Conway, or any body else made the smallest objection to your claim. The business is not intirely finished, owing to the want of authentic Lists of the Officers of the different Regiments, but as the sum voted is "on account of Half-pay for

*Charles Loosely was an innkeeper at New York and Brooklyn during the war. He pursued the same calling on his arrival in St. John. He was a queer character—advertised in doggerel rhymes, etc., etc. Winslow's pleasantry, in the letter above, assumes that the Rev. John Sayre would have a church on the east side of the harbor, while he and his friends would strive for one on the opposite side, with Rev. Jonathan Odell, late chaplain of the King's American Dragoons, as their minister.

"the Officers of certain Provincial Corps which have served with His "Majesty's Troops in North America in the late War," the claim for half-pay is not only admitted but substantiated, and Sir Guy Carleton is directed to furnish proper lists as soon as possible that estimates of the different Corps may be laid before Parliament at their next meeting that they may be voted specifically.

I have written to Sir Guy Carleton very fully upon the subject and have desired him not to forget to return you and your Deputies upon his Lists. I informed him that you were included in the Estimates I had the honor to lay before His Majesty's Ministers, and that no objection was made to it. So my good friend I think I have fixed the matter for you.

You will receive a great many letters from me by this conveyance, and among the rest one urging you to come to England. I am still of the same opinion with respect to the propriety of that measure; and the sooner you come the better. You have friends here who will exert themselves to serve you, and among all the arrangements that must necessarily be made now upon settling the Government of Nova Scotia I think they cannot want an opportunity to provide for you. Your voyage need not cost much, unless you choose it; and I will be answerable that you may live as cheap in London as in Halifax. Come soon and you will find a pleasant Lodging in Pall Mall Court, and Servants at your service. You know how happy I will be to see you.

With respect to myself personally, I cannot say I have been fortunate in my negotiations. I have not succeeded in my endeavors to get my Regiment put upon the British Establishment, nor have I any prospect at present of being employed. The East India Company so far from wanting troops are applying to Government to recall the British Reg'ts now in their service; and they are so overstocked with Officers of their own that they cannot find employment for one half of those they are obliged to Pay.

My views are now turned another way. You will soon hear of my making a dash that will surprise you all. There is no doubt but the Russians and Turks are upon the Eve of a very serious War, and on one side or other I am determined to have a hand in it.

Tho' I have not succeeded in my wishes respecting the Establishment of my Reg't. with British Rank, we are put upon the American Establishment by a formal order from the King; and His Majesty has been Graciously pleased to honor me with a very flattering mark of his Royal approbation by recommending me to Sir Guy Carleton that I may be appointed "Colonel" of the Kings American Dragoons, and by consenting that Major Murray should be promoted to the Rank of Lieut. Colonel. But this you will keep to yourself till you hear it from some other quarter. It is not public even here.

July 12th.—

Fanning* not gone yet. By the bye you cannot conceive what a noise the Establishment of his, and the other Provincial Regiments has made here. Those who had any hand in it are so sore with abuse that they cannot bear to hear it mentioned. Had those Corps not been Established mine would certainly have been. This will appear odd to you but it is nevertheless true.

I have a letter from Chipman of the 1st June. He is coming to England. I hope we shall all three meet there. He says you have taken the trouble of acting as paymaster to my Regt. You know how my accounts stand with Mr. Leechmere and Doctor Paddock. May I beg of you to remember me. But I know you will without my asking it.

Pray remember my Compliments to all near you to whom you think they will be acceptable; Particularly to Polly and the little ones.

I write to Murray by this Opportunity. Adieu, my Dear Winslow.

I am ever most sincerely
and affectionately Yours,

B. T.

"Lt. Col. Delancey, Respecting the Govr's Orders about Lands on St. John's."

Annapolis, July 11th, 1783.

My dear Brother Agents,—

I arrived here last night, and tomorrow, wind and weather auspicious, shall sail for Halifax, though if what I am informed at this Place is true, we might better be all of us in New York. It is that Conway, Burton,† &c. are to be given to the Refugees and that the lands to be given to the Provincials are to commence at Sunbury‡ and go northwest to Canada or elsewhere. This I at first esteemed an Idle Report but upon enquiring of Mr. Botsford,‖ he corroborates the whole of it and for his authority

*Colonel Edmund Fanning of the King's American Regiment.

† Townships had been granted on the St. John river as early as the year 1765, including Maugerville, Gagetown, Burton, etc., but much of the land in these townships had never been improved and was now liable to escheat or forfeiture. The township of "Conway," mentioned in letter above, included Carleton and the parish of Lancaster on the west side of St. John harbor. "Burton" included the parishes of Burton and Lincoln in Sunbury County.

‡The reference is to the township (not the county) of Sunbury. It began a little below Fredericton and extended up the St. John river about as far as Long's Creek, or the upper line of the parish of Kings clear.

‖Amos Botsford, formerly of Newton, Connecticut, was a graduate of Yale College. In 1782 he was appointed by Sir Guy Carleton an agent for the Loyalists embarking at New York for Annapolis Royal. They arrived there late in the fall. Mr. Botsford, with Frederick Hauser and others, made a careful exploration of the St. John river. See Murdoch's History of Nova Scotia, vol. iii., pp. 13-15. They sent a full report of their proceedings to their friends in New York. Amos Botsford settled in the county of Westmorland. He was the first speaker of the house of assembly, and continued to hold the position until his death, in 1812, in the 69th year of his age.

has a letter from Mr. Buckley [Bulkley].* The Intelligence coming in this way (unless Mr. Botsford is an execrable Liar) cannot be doubted; if it is true I believe you will join with me in fixing immediately a Period to our Agency, which I shall do instantly on my arrival at Halifax and shall not be very delicate in assigning my reasons. This is so notorious a forfeiture of the faith of Government that it appears to me almost incredible, and yet I fear it is not to be doubted. Could we have known this a little earlier it would have saved you the trouble of exploring the Country for the benefit of a People you are not connected with. In short it is a subject too disagreeable to say more upon. In letters to me send a duplicate one to Halifax, the other to this place.

Compliments to Allen. God bless you both.

St. DeLancey.†

General Timothy Ruggles to Edward Winslow, Sr.

Annapolis 17th July, 1783.

Dear Sir,—By a ship bound to New York I am to acknowledge your kind favor of the 30th of May last, which I received last night. Nothing could add more to my felicity than hearing of your enjoying your health, without which you could have little pleasure at the Bowery even in your pretty Box, with the adjacent two acres of land, which I make no doubt you are improving to the best advantage for the benefit of those happy branches of your family with you, to whom I beg you will be pleased to make my best compliments, which at present is the only tribute of gratitude in my power to make them for the many excellent Indian puddings, &c, &c, that I have so often partook of in their presence at your well supply'd table.

Your fruit trees, when compared with those here, I mean apples, are hardly worth noticing. About ten days ago, I had a present of well toward a bushel of as fine, fair, sound, high flavored apples as you ever saw at New York in the month of January. Colo. Allen of [New] Jersey told me he had drank the best cider here, he ever drank in his life; the same account I had from Doctor Prince who came to this Province from

*Richard Bulkley came to Nova Scotia with Governor Cornwallis in 1749, and was secretary of that province from 1759 to 1793. He died Dec. 7, 1800, aged 83 years.

†Lieutenant Colonel Stephen DeLancey was a son of Brigadier General Oliver DeLancey, and was lieutenant colonel in the 2nd battalion of his father's brigade in August, 1776. He was transferred to the Prince of Wales American Regiment in September, 1781, and again to the New Jersey Volunteers in February, 1782. He was one of the agents for effecting the settlement of the provincial regiments in Nova Scotia. He afterward filled the positions of chief justice of the Bahamas and governor of Tobago. He married Cornelia Barclay, and his family became quite distinguished. See Jones' Loyalist History of New York, vol. i., p. 62.

Salem, & from many other Gentlemen, all being the produce of this Province. Vegetables of all kinds of the very best quality, but not so early as at New York. Fin, scale & shell fish of all kinds except oysters, the want of which is richly compensated by scallops in plenty about the bigness of a common tea saucer & of excellent flavor. The land, very natural to grass of all kinds, with some of our New England husbandry often produces forty bushels of Indian corn per acre; but am apprehensive from the scantiness of heat and much wet weather it is not the proper grain for this climate, and indeed if less attention was paid to it in many parts of New England & more to other kinds of grain I think the people would find their account in it. Wheat, barley, oats and flax thrive well here upon uplands, & peas any where, no bugs were known in the place.

The people begin to clear upland which turns off good crops; the growth of timber in general near the marshes is ever-green, such as white spruce, red spruce, black spruce, fir & hemlock. The upland back from the river is rock maple, yellow & Black birch, beech & white ash, some red oak, no white oak. There is one hiccory tree here, produced from what in our country [New England] we call shagbark walnut—planted by Major Winniet about 23 years ago, an exceedingly fine thrifty tree, about as thick as Col. Gilberts body at the bottom, bids fair to have at least a bushel of nuts this year if no accident befalls them. In the same gentleman's garden is a filbert tree of some bigness, with plenty of fruit growing on it. In the next garden there is a madeira nut tree of considerable bigness—by its appearance has been sometimes nipt by the frost, but not more than I have seen the same sort nipt on Long Island.

Upon the whole I think the climate good & the soil capable of becoming the granary of any part of the continent to the eastward of New York: whether so happy an event may take place in the life time of you or me depends much upon the conduct of those who have it in their power at this crisis to encourage and accomplish the complete settlement of the country, according to the expectations of General Carleton. How it fares with other parts of this Province I am not able to say, but with respect to this part I hear every day lamentations making by people that came last fall, that this year's provision, which they then received and which is all they have to depend upon, will be exhausted before they can get the lands they have been long expecting to settle upon. As they have not yet obtained their patents for it, and the season is so far advanced you may clearly discover that for husbandmen the year is lost. What effect it may have upon others coming into the Province to settle, you Sir can more easily conceive than I can tell.

Thus I have attempted to comply with your requisition & at the

same time to mention what I much fear may obstruct the settlement of as fine a country as I ever saw in my life, capable of vast improvement, replete with natural advantages & nothing wanting but numbers of industrious Inhabitants to make a most flourishing Province, which at this time might certainly be had with prudent management.

My apology for this long scrawl is to convince you of my being all attention to your commands notwithstanding my great aversion to writing of which I find you are very sensible. I have only to add that I am upon all occasions, Sir,

Your most obedient & very humble servant,

Edward Winslow, Esq'r. Timo. Ruggles.

Sir Guy Carleton to Brigadier General Fox.

New York 18th July 1783.

Sir,—Major General Paterson having obtained my permission to go to England for the recovery of his health, and Brigadier General Campbell on his private business, I have thought proper to appoint you to the Command of His Majesty's troops in the District of Nova Scotia; You will therefore proceed by the first opportunity to Halifax in Nova Scotia, and on the Departure of Major General Paterson, will take upon you the Command of His Majesty's Troops in that District until further orders from me.

You will receive herewith, Instructions for your Conduct in that Command, and will apply to Major General Paterson for copies of all such letters and orders as relate thereto.

I have directed Alexander Thompson Esqr. Deputy Pay Master General at Halifax, to receive and pay your Warrants for the subsistence and Extraordinary Expenses of the troops under your command, which You are hereby empowered to grant, observing that no unecessary expenses are incurred.

I am. Sir,

Your most obedient and

most humble servant

Guy Carleton.

Sir Guy Carleton to Brig. Gen. Fox.

New York 18th July, 1783.

Sir,—As the situation of the Refugees who have gone to Nova Scotia, may require that they should have a further allowance of Provisions to carry them thro' the Winter, I have directed provisions to the 1st of May next, to be furnished to those whose necessities may require it; which you will be pleased to have carried into execution.

Should you find it an advantage to the Inhabitants, and that it can be done without detriment to the troops, you will send a Battalion to Port-Roseway, but I would wish you in all such cases, where the province is concerned, to consult with the Governor. What I have said of Port-Roseway may be applied to any other of the new settlements where you may judge it advisable.

As it may hereafter be necessary to erect works for the defence of some of the new settlements now forming in Nova Scotia, I recommend it to you to make application to the Governor for a reservation of such lands as may be judged proper for that purpose, for the security of the province in general, as well as for the erection of such buildings and Store houses, as are necessary thereto.

You will please to order the usual bounty of Two hundred days Bate, Baggage, and Forage money, to be issued to such of the German troops as are embarked, and to such of them as may hereafter embark from your districts. I am, Sir,

your most obedient and
most humble servant
Guy Carleton.

Fort Howe, River St. John's, 23rd July, 1783.

Sir,—Please to pay William Hazen Esq. or his order six pounds ten shillings Nova Scotia Currency, it being for thirteen days hire of the Schooner Sea-Flaw for the purpose of conveying the Agents for His Majesty's Provincial Regiments up the River St. John's thirteen days at ten shillings per day.

Edward Winslow, for himself & the other Agents.

Roger Johnson, Esq.,
Commissary &c., Halifax.

Halifax 27 August 1783.

Rec'd the above sum of Edward Winslow Esq.
£6, 10,— Wm. Hazen.

Edward Winslow to Ward Chipman.

Fort Howe, River St. John's, 23rd July, 1783.

My dear Chip,—I yesterday evening arrived at this place after the most agreeable tour I ever had in my life. Barclay, Allen and a number of young Bucks and myself have explored this grand river one hundred and twenty miles from its mouth and we have returned delighted beyond expression. I must defer a minute description until I have rested myself and have more leisure. Your letter which I have this moment received

has caused a kind of agitation which I cannot describe. Had I received a message from the Great Ruler of the World allowing me to chuse an employment (at this critical time) I should have pointed out the very one my friends have so kindly provided for me.* I am now preparing to embark in a Boat to cross the Bay of Fundy, where horses are ready for me to proceed immediately to Halifax. Assure yourself my dear Chip that I will exert myself most capitally on this occasion. From Halifax you shall hear particularly. I am forever indebted to Judge Ludlow and those other of my friends who have interested themselves so materially for me. I cannot tell you in this haste how important I consider it. Thank Townsend for the service and accept my best acknowledgements for the things sent by Ryerson. I shall be obliged to leave P—— and the little ones at Annapolis, 'tis a consolation indeed that I can leave 'em comfortable.

What millions of things crowd on my mind to say to you. Suspend your curiosity till I arrive at Halifax.

Most fervently & affect'ly, Yours,

Ned.

P. S. Left your letter to write my Dad, but am summoned to embark this minute. Say all that is necessary.

Governor Parr to Sir Guy Carleton.

Shelburne, 25th July, 1783.

Sir,—I have the honor to inform your Excellency of my arrival here (late Port Roseway) in the Sophia Frigate and that I have named the town and district, Shelburne. From every appearance I have not a doubt but that it will in a short time become the most flourishing Town for trade of any in this part of the World, and the country will for agriculture. For any particulars that your Excellency may wish to know I refer you to the bearer Mr. Robertson.

I did myself the honor to write to you by the "Lucerne" expressing my sentiments relative to the number of Loyalists intending to go to the River St. Johns. I greatly fear the soil and fertility of that part of this province is overrated by people who have explored it partially.. I wish it may turn out otherwise, but have my fears that there is scarce good land enough for them already sent there. If all the Provincial Corps go, am certain there will not, which was the reason for my recommending the eastern side of the St. Croix River to your Excellency.

I have the honour to be with great esteem

Your Excellency's most obedient

humble servant,

His Excellency, Sir Guy Carleton. J. Parr.

*As military secretary to General Fox, the newly appointed commander in chief of the forces in Nova Scotia.

Ward Chipman to Edward Winslow.

July 29th, 1783.

Dear Ned,—I this moment learn that Colonel Morse* embarks in an hour for Halifax, and as it is now within half an hour of dinner time, I shall only be able to write a few lines. I am anxious beyond measure to know if my letters relative to your connection with General Fox as his Secretary arrived in season. The evening before he sailed he wrote me a note to know if I had received an answer to my letter to you on that subject. I told him I had written fully to you but had received no answer as there had been no arrivals from that part of the country where you was since my letter could have reached you. Dont fail to let me know by the first opportunity how the matter terminates, I told the General I did not doubt the proposal would be agreeable to you.

It's now next to a certainty almost that we shall be all away from here this fall; I cannot yet determine which way to steer, much will depend upon the intelligence I receive from you and your advice. Should Sir Guy go to Nova Scotia I shall inevitably go there too, or if I am like to forfeit any considerable advantage by not being there this winter I certainly will go. Few, very few, will remain here, Nova Scotia is the rage, petitions are daily going in from very respectable people to the Commander in Chief for lands, &c. Blowers with his family mean to embark in the course of the next month for Halifax, and I think it very probable your father and family will go with him. Your mother is arrived and in health and spirits as indeed they all are.

Keep a look out for me with respect to lands if you can and let me know what is to be done on my part. To have as many strings to my Bow as I could I have signed a petition with Col. Willard and others to the Com'r in Chief. † My anxiety increases every day, all business being at an end, I find myself running behind hand very fast every day,

*Colonel Robert Morse of the Royal Engineers is here referred to. His well known report on Nova Scotia in 1783 is printed in the Canadian Archives for the year 1884.

† Ward Chipman thus became one of the celebrated "Fifty-five" petitioners for lands in Nova Scotia. (See Sabine's Loyalists under name of Abijah Willard; also an anonymous political tract, of which a few copies are extant, printed at London, 1784). Chipman soon afterwards disassociated himself from the company. See his letter under date 3rd August, 1783, in this book. Colonel Abijah Willard was of Lancaster, Mass. He settled near Carleton and gave the name of Lancaster to the parish in which he resided. He was a member of the first council of the province. He died in 1789 at the age of 67 years, and his family returned to Massachusetts. The "Fifty-five" claimed that they were justly entitled to the same allowance as field officers, viz., 5,000 acres each, in consideration of their special services and the dignity or importance of their former positions in society. The other Loyalists at New York strongly resented the claim for special consideration advanced by the "Fifty-five," and considered their action both ungenerous and unfair, and in consequence of their protests the scheme fell through.

for my d——d mode of living is as expensive as ever. You distressed me very much by the account you gave me of my dear boy. Chip—God grant your fears may have proved groundless. Let me know how it has fared with him and how Pop with the other dear little ones makes out. Kiss them all for me.

We have no news, no definitive treaty yet. I shall write you tomorrow via St. John's.

Adieu, Yours most affectionately,

Chip.

Brigadier General Fox to Edward Winslow.

Sir,—I suppose you have received Mr. Chippeham's [Chipman's] Letter from N. York on the subject I take the Liberty of writing to you upon. I should be happy to hear by the first opportunity if the proposal is agreeable to you, as I most sincerely wish it may suit your views.

I should not have taken the Liberty of proposing such a thing to you had not your acquaintance, Judge Ludlow, assured me you would not be offended at the Liberty I have taken in making the offer of the appointment of Secretary to me as Commanding Officer of the Troops in N. Scotia. Col. De Lancey has promised to forward this by the first opportunity.

I am Sir

Your most obedient Humble Servant,

H. E. Fox.

Halifax, July 31st, 1783.

Edward Winslow to Ward Chipman.

Halifax, Saturday 2d Aug't, 1783.

My dear good fellow,—Last Saturday I left the River St. John's and crossed the Bay of Fundy and at Annapolis took horse and yesterday arrived at this place. I am amply paid for all the fatigues and dangers which I have experienced by the polite reception I met with from Gen. Fox. On Tuesday or Wednesday next Gen'l Paterson embarks for England and then I shall engage in my new business.

When I received your letter I had just returned from a kind of campaign that would have added a few wrinkles to any man's face, and God knows rest and refreshment would have been very pleasant, but the fear of a possibility that my absence would have been prejudicial, induced me to exert every nerve and I cannot express to You how excessively I was gratify'd at being only 24 hours after the General. Barclay (who knows every circumstance of the matter) will communicate all you wish to know.

I am sensible how far your curiosity extends in matters that relate to me and I would indulge it if I could by this opportunity, but Barclay has been summoned from Capt. Tryers', where we dined, to embark immediately. As I am now becoming a sedentary man, you may depend on my commencing an old fashioned history which I shall forward by the next conveyance.

I cannot describe to you my distress at an event which has taken place in my family. I doubt whether I would not be lessened in your opinion was I to tell you in what manner it has affected me — the poor little fellow. [He probably refers to the death of his little boy "Chip."]

I have reconciled Polly in some degree to my absence. She is more comfortably situated than she ever was before. William (Quarter Master, formerly Thompson's Groom) superintends all the business at Granville. Polly has two cows, which I bought, and from which she makes all her butter, &c. "Silk" continues with her and Frank and little George; and under the management of William they do very well. Presley (Thompson's orderly man) is with me and a very valuable fellow. The place I have hired has been cultivated in such a stile as to ensure us more hay and vegetables than we can possible use. In short Chip for many years past I have not felt myself so free from chagrin so rationally happy, or whatever else you have a mind to call it, as now. My appointment I believe has given as much pleasure to the people here perhaps as ever such an event did for reasons which Barclay will tell you.

I shall follow your rules lay'd down in your letter — rely on't I will be industrious and prudent, the last I acknowledge will be the most arduous task but I am equal even to that. Barclay will pay you twelve guineas, and he means to make a serious application to the Commander in Chief for a sum to reimburse Delancey, himself and me for our expenses in the agency for the Provincial Regiments. If he acquires anything, and I presume he will, I have requested him to pay my proportion to you. I wrote you to send me clothes — if you have not engaged 'em you need not do it. I find I can get 'em here as cheap as at York — only supply the girls with some linen, my kit is in bad condition.

I shall not write the old gentleman, you are possessed of every necessary fact respecting me, and I have requested Barclay to see him instantly after his arrival.

I suppose that my subsistence will be paid for one more period, and that you will pay yourself for such matters as I have been supplied with since I left you.

I know not where to leave off — my different tours have been very expensive, but I have scuttled thro' like an old soldier, and I begin to value myself upon such maneuvres, possibly I may one day do other

make an attempt to save a little money. I know that T. Coffin, Fred Philips and yourself sneer at the idea — Laugh and be hanged, I'll try.

I am anxiously expecting the arrival of Colonel Fanning here. Is it not possible my dear Chip that a collection of us (consequential men) may have it in our power to coax you by some means to join us here? What can induce you? This is a matter in which I feel myself so deeply, very deeply interested, that I cannot write dispassionately—but we are enterprising people—may not something be effected?

Adieu,

Almighty God bless you,

Ed. Winslow.

Rev. Jonathan Odell* to Edward Winslow.

New York, Aug. 3rd, 1783.

Dear Sir,—I have been recently feasted with communications of Extracts from your letters to Major Upham and Mr. Chipman, and having paid them in thanks, which you know is orthodox clerical coin, for the pleasure they have afforded me, I now seize the moment while Chip's dinner is waiting for a Guest more tardy than myself to make a tender of the same tribute to you. I am very happy to find from your description of "a prospect" to which a way has been cut by such herculean exertions, my own prospects eventually brightening in the hope that I too, with Friend Chipman, may ere long have a comfortable habitation in your new planned Town, where I shall hope a spark of your fire will also awaken me to feel that noble enthusiasm which looks with disdain on all former objects of description—the mere spurts of small beer and such like diuretic drippings. I have further to acknowledge your excellent Newtonian discovery—never sure did the Hon'ble Major [Hanger] dream of such fortune awaiting his former attendant, secured it seems by your oracular response to the Lady's inquiry. †

But dinner waits. God bless you, I have written a hasty line to Major

*Rev Jonathan Odell was a man of many parts. It is said that "he commenced doctor of physic." He was born in Newark, New Jersey, September 25, 1737, and was for a time preceptor there. He was ordained by the Bishop of London in 1766. He was in charge of the church at Burlington, N. J., when the Revolution began. In 1777 he was gazetted chaplain of the Pennsylvania Loyalists, but was transferred to the King's American Dragoons upon the organization of that corps. He was a protege of Sir Guy Carleton, and became his private secretary, and through his influence was appointed provincial secretary on the formation of the province of New Brunswick in 1783. The office descended to his son, the Hon. W. F. Odell, who held it for 32 years. The father, after coming to Fredericton, is believed to have occasionally officiated in the capacity of a clergyman. He was called the Honorable and Reverend Jonathan Odell. He was quite a clever writer, and composed many bits of poetry. He was the intimate friend of Winslow and Chipman.

†See under date 7th July, 1783.

Murray—you are my Guardians, and I am sure you will provide for me. If you lose the game at all fours let not the inference be "we will have no church,"* rather let the Church be destined, if it cannot be a house of prayer, to accommodate with a Dwelling—Your affectionate Friend & h'ble Serv't,

Jon. Odell.

Ward Chipman to Edward Winslow.

New York 3d Augt. 1783.

Dear Winslow,—I wrote you largely the day before yesterday, but as an opportunity offers for St. John's tomorrow by Stephen Skinner† I will not omit it, tho' nothing of consequence occurs to write about. The committee, or rather Agents, appointed by those gentlemen who have lately applied to the Commander in Chief for lands in Nova Scotia go in the ship which sails tomorrow. ‡ I signed the Petition but have since found several names upon the list which do not comport with my ideas of the business at all. I shall of course decline any further concern in the matter relying upon your having it in your power to provide much better for me in your arrangements than can be done in any other way. Our friend Tom Bannister ‖ is upon the list, he subscribes the power of agency and pays his 3 guineas to defray the expences of the agents in negotiating the business for the Company. If it is practicable to have me included for a tract or lot or share or whatever it is called, among those that will be of your party, don't forget me. I should admire a very romantic, grand-water-river-falls-lake-prospect with a good cold spring of water near my house. I shall be very anxious till I know the result of the proposal relative to General Fox, as I am more and more uneasy that so much was said to him on the subject, tho' it was absolutely necessary, unless the matter was given up altogether, and I wished it might be in your option to undertake it if your situation and interest rendered it eligible.

The month of August is arrived and everything here wears the same

*See letter of Edward Winslow to Joshua Upham, written in July, 1783.

†Brother of Brigadier General Cortlandt Skinner of New Jersey.

‡The agents for the "Fifty-five" were Rev. John Sayre, Philip J. Livingston, and Nathaniel Chandler. They arrived at Annapolis Royal August 17, 1783, and their proceedings are recorded in a very scarce and interesting pamphlet, of which a copy is in possession of the writer of these notes. Rev. John Sayre went to St. John, and Livingston and Chandler thereupon associated with them Stephen Skinner, who was one of the "Fifty-five," and proceeded to Halifax. The governor demurred to granting so large a tract as 5,000 acres to each individual of the company. Delay ensued. Sir Guy Carleton declined to countenance the project, and in the end it was a complete failure.

‖Thomas Bannister belonged to Rhode Island. He saw some service under Daniel Murray in Wentworth's Volunteers. He was a magistrate at Weymouth, N. S., in 1785.

appearance as it did three months ago, except that now and then a Hessian regiment embarks for Europe. One of these goes on board Capt. Humble in a few days to his great mortification, he wished to go back again to St. John's.

I wrote to you fully in my last my opinion respecting your Father's movements; he means to consult Mr. Watson and his other friends, their opinion with your next letters will ultimately decide him. He dines with me to-day with Barclay and a few friends. I wish you could take a glass with us of the last bottle of Thompson's that I have.

Opinions are various respecting the evacuation of this place, tho' I have little doubt myself that it will be soon. No magazines of fuel or forage are providing for the winter—the whole army is encamping from Newton across to Denys's* as if to be in readiness to embark at a moment's warning. I imagine we shall be hurried off as soon as the definitive treaty arrives.

Whenever your scheme of a separate government at St. John's is ripe for execution I shall be ready to embark in the business. I think if the present illiberal policy in the United States continues, that must soon become a very valuable and important country, and one may then I think stand a chance to be foremost in some line or other.

Dr. Bailey goes to England this fall, Blowers to Halifax immediately. By the way, Miss Kent† is now very ill, I think she must die. You will I think see all your friends at Halifax next winter. My movements are not yet absolutely determined on tho' I think Halifax will bring me up. Remember me particularly to Murray and the rest of my friends with you—

Adieu. Yours most faithfully,

Chip.

Lt. Col. Isaac Allen to Edward Winslow.

Wilmot,‡ August 7th, 1783.

Dear Sir,—I congratulate you on the arrival of General Fox and hope your situation will be as profitable to yourself as I am sure it will be advantageous to your Friends and all distressed Loyalists. Delancey tells me you have relinquished all the Province to the Refugees except the Lands

*Newton was a village a little to the east of Brooklyn, on Long Island, and Deny's, in the same vicinity, was a place where the Loyalist regiments frequently encamped and were mustered by Colonel Winslow.

†Miss Kent was a daughter of Benjamin Kent and a sister of Mrs. Sampson Salter Blowers. She lived with Chief Justice Blowers and her sister at Halifax.

‡Wilmot, in Annapolis County, offered an asylum to a number of Loyalists of merit, among them General Timothy Ruggles. Lieut. Col. Allen's stay there was but brief. Lands were surveyed here for the elder Edward Winslow by direction of Hon. Charles Morris, the surveyor general of Nova Scotia.

above Sunbury. I must therefore on behalf of myself and the ladds I have settled on Kennebekasius* beg your assistance to have that land confirmed to me. The state of the case is this; Doctor Prince about 12 months ago obtained a Promise from Sir Andrew Hammond† for five thousand acres, which was surveyed at his request and expence but not regularly returned in the office nor any Patent taken out. Upon my arrival at St. John's the Doctor proposed to convey me three thousand of the five upon my promising ten settlers, which I immediately did and have been at the trouble and expence of having the lands divided and the men have built, and cleared part of the lands. Doctor Prince was so mortified at the loss of Musquash Cove that he did not chuse to ask any favor of the Governor, but wished Bliss and Major Murray to come in for two thousand acres, the residue of the Tract. I think this tract worth attending to and as I find many are making applications for private Grants you will have no difficulty in procuring this when it is considered that I have been at considerable expence in getting the lands surveyed and settled, and that at the time I entered into the scheme with Doctor Prince I could have no idea it would interfere with the interest of Provincials or Refugees.

Major Barclay, in a letter to Robinson, mentioned that application is made for lands in this town. Whether this Grant is solicited for Provincial officers in general or for individuals I know not. If it should be for individuals I should be glad to have two thousand acres here and would recommend it to you to get a proportion of your lands here as I think the lands equal to any high lands we saw at St. John's. Inclosed I send you the names of the Men‡ settled on the lands at Kennebekasius, so that we must be charged with only three thousand acres of this Tract and the men with two hundred each. I hope you will think with me that this business is worth attending to when I assure you that the lands are equal in Quality to Mauger-Ville and not so subject to the Freshet. If Bliss should decline having a part of this land there will be three lots, which will give Murray, you and myself a thousand each, and they will be more valuable as I have ten excellent Farmers upon them.

Pray let me hear from you as soon as possible and inform me whether

*Lieut. Col. Isaac Allen, with others, obtained a grant of 14,000 acres on the Kennebeccasis river, including in its limits the present village of Sussex. The grant was dated July 6, 1784. It was afterwards relinquished in consideration of a grant of lands elsewhere.

†Sir Andrew Snape Hammond's grant of 10,000 acres on the south side of the Kennebeccasis, in the vicinity of Hammond River, was made on Dec. 23, 1782. The grant was escheated and the land regranted to bona fide settlers.

‡The names enclosed were as follows: Ruloff Ruloffson, Jonathan Thatcher, Albert Burdan, Ezekiel Crozier, Peter Snyder, Joseph Parks, Oliver Frazer, Abner Sharp, Cornelius Anderson, Daniel Insley (Ansley). These men belonged to the New Jersey Volunteers, and many of their descendants are living in Kings County today.

you are like to succeed or no; if you should succeed for the Lands on Kennebekasius pray write a line to Sergeant Major Ruloffson, who is now there, informing him of it as they are now in suspense and will not proceed in improving as fast as I could wish. I make no apology for this tedious letter, as I know the pleasure you will have in obliging your friend Murray and myself will be superior to the trouble of reading the letter or soliciting the business.

I am still afflicted with the complaint you left me with. I fear I shall never get clear of it. I expect to sail for [New] York in a few days and shall be happy to execute your commands there. I am with great truth,

Your Friend & Hum. Serv't,

I. Allen.

[P. S.] Our friend Hazen knows where these men live: you had better write to him, if you succeed, who will inform them. I have no better Paper.

Edward Winslow to Major Murray.

Halifax 8th August, 1783.

Sir,—It having been represented to Brigadier General Fox that the King's American Dragoons under your command cannot be enhutted at the place where they are at present encamped* without inconvenience to the great number of Loyalists who are forming settlements at the mouth of the River St. John's, and he being also informed that His Excellency the Governor of this Province has assigned a certain tract of land for the accommodation of the Provincial Regiments on the River St. John's beginning at the eastern† boundaries of the Townships of Sunbury and Newtown and extending up the river, I am directed to acquaint you that you have Brigadier General Fox's permission to remove the King's American Dragoons to that part of the District which has been allotted to the regiment by the agents for locating lands for His Majesty's Provincial Forces. And as the procuring the Timber and many other articles necessary for erecting the Huts will at the same time facilitate the clearing the Land and in other respects be beneficial to property which is assigned to the Regiment, it is the General's idea that the Huts may be built without any public expence. Lieutenant Colonel Morse, Chief Engineer, will (in consideration that your regiment may be exposed to peculiar inconveniences

*The place of encampment seems to have been in Carleton, on the west side of St. John harbor. The regiment was sent up the river to Prince William and there disbanded, a step which was approved by Sir Guy Carleton.

†There is evidently a mistake here. For "Eastern" read "Western." The township of Newtown was opposite Fredericton; the township of Sunbury included the site of Fredericton and nearly all the parish of Kingsclear.

from being the first who are ordered to hut on the River St. John's) forward to you such articles as he apprehends cannot be procured at that place.

I have the honor to be &c, &c.

Edward Winslow, Secretary.

Brigadier General Fox to Edward Winslow.

[August, 1783.]

D'r Sir,—I am to go tomorrow morning with Col. Morse to the Governour before Ten O'Clock about the business I mentioned to you as I was dressing. I wish to talk to you on the Subject before I go as the more I think of it the more I think sending Troops might produce the most ruinous consequence; at the same time not only my instructions but my real desire would be to attend to every wish and opinion of the Governour's, and even yield obedience to his orders as Governour where I did not commit myself or prejudice the service,

Yours most sincerely

H. E. Fox.

Thursday night.

[P. S.] Be so good as to bring Capt. Studholme's Letters with you.

Edward Winslow to Ward Chipman.

Halifax, 9th August, 1783.

My dear Chip,—I now commence my operations in the writing way which will be continued every hour when I have leisure until an opportunity offers for [New] York. The first subject which engages my attention is of course my own money matters. You will find by the ace't. inclosed that I have expended a large sum in the business of Agent for the Provincial Regiments—this sum Barclay assured me he would apply to the Commander in Chief to reimburse. Should be fail (which I cannot suppose) I have no doubt the regiments who empowered me specially will answer for my proportion, as I have certainly succeeded (I flatter myself) beyond what they could expect. But should the public wish to cheat me, and those regiments want gratitude (both which may happen) Barclay is under engagements to pay one half of the sums due to the Express, to Eason, and for the vessel, the whole of which is £19,10—his half £9,15 Halifax currency.

* * 15th August—I intended, my dear Chip, to have bored you with a very lengthy epistle—many are the disappointments of the righteous, &c. A vessel is ordered to depart tomorrow morning and my official business obliges me to neglect everything else. If you want to

name a pattern of industry and temperance you cannot hit the mark so perfectly as E. W. I only wish that some man of observation was to remove from this to [New] York to do justice to my exertions* but more of this in future.

Never was a set of men so completely in the dark as those of this Garrison—it is yet so doubtful whether you are to leave [New] York this winter or not, that one cannot determine what to do or how to advise one's friends. I have very few. I am not so seriously concerned about any man on the face of the earth as about yourself. Accustomed as I am to dashing, bustling, staring poverty in the face, dodging it and laughing at it, I don't care a condemn about myself—but you who have taken so much pains to acquire professional knowledge descend with great reluctance one single step from the finale, and you cannot reconcile yourself to anything on a small scale. If necessity should bring you to this province I do really

*Among the matters that obliged Winslow to exert himself was that of providing places of settlement for his old military comrades. The following are samples of the powers of attorney entrusted to him as agent for the provincial regiments.

"I, the subscriber, hereby authorize and empower Edward Winslow, Esq., "muster master general of provincial forces, to obtain grants and locate land "in Nova Scotia for the Queen's Rangers agreeable to the annexed return.

"(Signed) R. ARMSTRONG, Major Q. R.

"New York, April ye 15th, 1783.

"Return of officers, non-commissioned officers, privates, women and chil- "dren for lands in Nova Scotia. His Majesty's corps of Queen's Rangers:—

Lieut-Colonel Commanding.	Major.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Cornets and Ensigns.	Chaplain.	Quarter Master Infantry.	Quarter Master Cavalry.	Surgeon.	Surgeon's Mate.	Serjeants.	Corporals.	Trumpeters and Drummers.	Privates.	Women.	Children.	Total.
1	1	15	17	14	1	1	5	1	1	41	28	14	305	60	70	575

"I, the subscriber, hereby authorize and empower Edward Winslow, Esq., "muster master general of provincial forces, to obtain grants and locate lands "in Nova Scotia for the second battalion of DeLancey's brigade, agreable to "the annexed return.

"(Signed) G. G. LUDLOW, Col.

"New York, April 12, 1783."

"A return of officers, men, women and children of the second battalion of "DeLancey's brigade that have agreed to settle in Nova Scotia:—

Colonel.	Lieut-Colonel.	Major.	Captains	Subalterns.	Quarter Master.	Doctor.	Mate.	Chaplain.	Serjeants.	Corporals.	Drummers.	Privates.	Women.	Children.	Total.
1	1	1	8	14	1	1	1		22	21	7	160	49	71	358

Total.

Men.....238

Women.....49

Children....71

think that a man of spirit and abilities might get as comfortable a living as the climate and the society will admit, and—strange as it may appear—I aver that in my present situation it is as much in my power to assist my friends as any one man in the province of Nova Scotia. You never did me so important a service as by forwarding my present appointment. I have not time nor words to express the satisfaction I have and expect to enjoy in my present connection.

I'm summoned. I did not intend that my duty to my General or any other duty should prevent me from performing my first of duties, to my Father, but I can't add another word, only that I shall set out with General Fox for Annapolis and the River St. John's next week, and that I am invariably

& extremely Yours,

Ed. Winslow.

Dr. Adino Paddock to Edward Winslow.

Camp Manawauganish,* 12 August, 1783.

D'r Sir,—I have this moment heard of Mr. Hazen's intended departure for Halifax. The Major [Murray] has just got down the river. He is in raptures with it. We shall all move up in about a fortnight—the sooner the better I think, as Hutting in this country is a serious piece of business. There is a report that troops are coming here. If there are detachments from different corps that will justify an appointment [of Surgeon] to the post, I know that your attention is such that I may expect not to be overlooked, tho' of so diminutive a size.

Poor Nase† is distracted about Major Coffin. We have a report by Campbell that he is killed;‡ for God's sake let us know if it is true. I hope not. His house is raised. Nase is very industrious. I hope Gen'l Fox has arrived and that you meet with every wish & pleasure your heart can desire. There is a fleet expected every moment from [New] York. Capt. Stewart‖ of our corps is said to be in it. You cannot expect any News from this remote Corner—from you we expect everything. When shall we hear from the Colonel?§ God grant him his senses. If Fulton¶ is

*The encampment of the King's American Dragoons. It was probably on the heights back of Carleton, on the west side of the harbor of St. John. The vicinity is yet known as "Mahogany," a corruption of Manawagonish.

†Ensign Henry Nase of the King's American Regiment. He joined the corps at Kingsbridge in 1776, and served through the war. In 1783 he settled at Westfield, Kings Co., N. B., and was an active and useful citizen. He was a magistrate, a lieutenant colonel of militia, deputy surrogate and an active churchman. He died in 1836 at the age of 84 years.

‡This report proved to be untrue.

‖Captain William Stewart of the King's American Dragoons.

§Colonel Benjamin Thompson.

¶Captain James Fulton, a native of New Hampshire, one of the organizers of the King's American Dragoons under Lieut. Col. Thompson. He went to Halifax in 1783. Died in Nova Scotia in 1826.

there let him know he has the prayers of every one for a safe and speedy return.

The Gentlemen are all well and desire their compliments. If you should honor me with a line address it to the Care of Wm. Tyng* Esq'r.

I have the honor to be Sir,
Your very much obliged friend and Hum. serv.
A. Paddock.

Brig. General Fox to Sir Guy Carleton.

Halifax 15th August, 1783.

Sir,—I have the honor to inform your Excellency that on the 6th Instant, Major General Paterson embarked for Great Britain in His Majesty's Ship Magicienne, under whose convoy were a number of ships carrying the whole of the German Troops from this province. Brigadier General Campbell embarked on the same day for New York and I took upon me the Command of His Majesty's Troops in this District.

I immediately communicated to Governor Parr your Excellency's Instruction relative to sending troops to Port Roseway, and it was the Governor's opinion "that from the present good disposition of the Inhabitants, it was not expedient to send troops there at this time." I also made application to the Governor for a reservation of such Lands in the new settlements now forming in this Province as may be necessary for public purposes, and I was favored with His Excellency's assurances "that such Reservations should be made in all instances."

A list of the several Departments in Nova Scotia is herewith inclosed. I have endeavoured to reduce them as low as the nature of the service will admit. The department of Commissary of Prisoners is discontinued agreable to your Excellency's order, and as your Excellency has given leave for Mr. Winslow, Muster Master General of Provincials to reside at Halifax, I thought it unnecessary to continue Major Skinner and his Deputy here.

I have ordered the allowance of Rum to Working Parties to be reduced to a gill per man (it having been formerly the practice here to allow half a pint) and I have directed that the Commissioned Officers shall receive

*Colonel William Tyng was at one time sheriff of Cumberland County, in Maine. He was born in Boston in 1737. He was commissioned a colonel by General Gage in 1774. He was a commissary at New York during the war, and was sent to St. John at the peaec in 1783 to act as commissary and agent for the Loyalists, an office he filled to their satisfaction. He was one of the directors in allotting grants at Parr Town to the Loyalists. The street now called Princess street was at first known as Tyng street. Colonel Tyng retired to Gagetown about 1785 and was sheriff of Queens County. Later he returned to the United States and died near Portland, Maine, in 1807, aged 70 years. Lorenzo Sabine in his Loyalists of the American Revolution eulogizes Col. Tyng.

Spruce-Beer in lieu of Rum (which hitherto has not been the custom in this Garrison). I have also found it necessary to make some regulations in the Issues of Fuel, which I have communicated to Mr. Watson.

On a representation made to me that the King's American Dragoons could not be hutted where they are at present encamped without material inconvenience to the great number of Loyalists who are forming settlements at the mouth of the River Saint-John's; and having been also informed that the Governor has assigned a Tract of Land for the accommodation of the Provincial Regiments, I thought it advisable, after consulting the Governor, to send the Regiment to that Ground, which is about one hundred miles up the River St. John's, and I gave notice to major Murray, "That as the procuring the Timber and many other articles necessary for erecting the Hutts will at the same time facilitate the clearing the Land and be other ways beneficial to the property which is assigned to the Regiment, it was my idea that the Hutts should be built without any public expence."

I inclose to the Adjutant General the returns to the 1st August, I also take the liberty of forwarding a memorial from the Honorable Forster Hutchinson, Esq'r, one of His Majesty's Council for the Province of Massachusetts Bay and Brother of the late Governor. This is a Gentleman of such great consideration and respectable character that I could not decline making his circumstances known to your Excellency through this channel.

I must also submit to your Excellency's consideration the copy of a letter which I have this day received from His Excellency Governor Parr. As the subject appeared to me of very great importance I endeavoured to obtain every information in my power, and on the whole I thought it my duty to observe to the Governor that the measure proposed of sending a Detachment of Troops to the place pointed out in his Letter could not have a tendency to settle the controversy relative to the Boundaries and might in the present situation of matters be attended with very disagreeable consequences. His Excellency the Governor has agreed to defer the matter until I am favoured with particular instructions on the subject.

I have the honor to be, Your Excellency's most
obedient and humble Servant,

H. E. Fox, Br. Gen.

Governor Parr to Sir Guy Carleton.

Halifax, 15 Aug., 1783.

Sir,—I should have done myself the honour of writing to your Excellency by Major Barclay, but was prevented by a severe cold in my head. It was to inform you how happy it made me to find that the Provincial

corps could be accommodated upon the River St. John near the source of that River leaving the lower part to the Refugees now settled there. * * * Notwithstanding the Provincial corps are settled to their satisfaction upon St. Johns River, I cannot avoid expressing my concern that some of these corps were not set down upon the eastern side of the River St. Croix, or somewhere upon the Bay of Passamaquoddy, the Frontier of this Province, to resemble the cantonments of an army, agreeable to your Excellency's letter dated the 26th April. The inclosed is a proposed Route to Quebec. I have not a doubt but that it will in a short time be compleated with Post Houses &c.

I have the honour to be with great respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient

and most humble servant,

J. Parr.

Major Upham to Edward Winslow.

New York, Aug't, 21, 1783.

Dear Winslow,—Your situation with General Fox has undoubtedly given you an opportunity to know that the K. A. Dragoons are established and will receive Half Pay when disbanded. I suppose the present will be the last abstract, I mean from the 25th August—in that case I wish every contingent allowance may be included. You will I am sure take care of us. I hope you will make interest to be continued in your present employment when General Campbell shall take command. I must beg the favour of you to forward the inclosed to Major Murray. I wish him to send me an old Rhode Island admiralty commission.

We shall all soon be with you—every body, all the World moves on to Nova Scotia—Blowers &c will soon be there. God bless you—if possible.

I am most sincerely, Your friend &c.,

J. Upham.

If Murray sends you the commission pray keep it till I see you.

Sir Guy Carleton to Brig. Gen. H. E. Fox.

New York, 22d August, 1783.

Sir,—I have received yours of the 6th instant. * * The 2d Battalion of the 84th Regiment and the British American corps in Nova Scotia and the Island of St. Johns are to be disbanded as soon as possible, for which you will please take the necessary steps. * * The abstracts for the British American Forces are to be made up to the

day of their being disbanded, and fourteen days pay from that day without deduction is to be given to each of the non commissioned officers, drummers and private men.

I have ordered that a spade and an axe should be given to each Soldier here, whose future mode of life may require them, on his being disbanded, and you will please to order the same to be issued to each Soldier discharged in Nova Scotia in like manner. * * *

The several corps should be discharged as contiguous as possible to the Lands on which they are to settle, for which purpose you will communicate with the Governor and press him not only to determine the spots for each corps but that he will also expedite, as much as possible, the location of lands for the Refugees on the River St. Johns, which I am concerned to hear has been much delayed. As it is probable some of the Refugees going from hence, notwithstanding the exertions we have made, will not arrive till late in the year, you will be pleased to have the Barracks and Public Stores at Annapolis put into repair for their reception, or for the use of such troops as it may be necessary to send there. The British American Troops from this place will be sent to the River St Johns as soon as possible. * * * I enclose an extract of a letter from the Secretary of State, which you will please to communicate to the officers of the British American Corps, that they may be informed on what ground they stand as to their hopes of half pay. I have no other information on this subject. * * *

I am Sir,

Your most obedient and

most humble Servant,

Guy Carleton.

Adju't. Gen. Oliver Delancey to Gen. Fox.

Adjutant General's Office,

New York, 23 Aug. 1783.

Sir,—I am directed by the Commander in Chief to inform you that the King's American Dragoons, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Thompson; the Fencible American Regiment, commanded by Colonel Goreham; Kings Orange Rangers, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Bayard; the Kings Rangers, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Rogers, and the St. John's Volunteers,* commanded by Capt. Callbeck, are to be

*The St. John's Volunteers were raised on the Island of St. John's (now Prince Edward Island) by Captain Philips Callbeck about February, 1777. Capt. Callbeck was at one time administrator of government on the island. He was carried away as a prisoner by some American marauders in the year 1775. See Canadian Archives for 1895 at page 15.

disbanded as soon as possible at Halifax, or such other place in your province as you and the Governor shall think most advisable, except the Kings Rangers* and St. John's Volunteers, who probably you may think it will be best to dismiss at that Island, where they are now stationed.

The 17th, 33rd, 37th, 42d, 54th, & 57th Regiments are to remain in Nova Scotia under the orders of Major General Campbell.

The corps in Newfoundland commanded by Lieut. Colonel Pringle is to be disbanded as soon as two companies of the 37th Regiment which are to be stationed there, arrive at that place.

Enclosed I send you a copy of the General orders given out this day confirming the sentence of the General Court Martial held on Lieutenant Wheaton of the Nova Scotia Volunteers; and likewise a sketch of the Embarkations which are to take place for your Province as soon as possible. I have the honor to be, Sir,

With great respect, Your most obed't,
Humble servant,
Ol. DeLancey, Adjt. Gen'l.

The Honb'le
Brigadier Gen'l Fox, &c, &c.

Memorial on behalf of Royal Guides and Pioneers.

To His Excellency Sir Guy Carleton, Knight of the Bath, Commander in Chief, &c, &c, &c,

The memorial of Major John Aldington in behalf of himself and the Regiment of Guides and Pioneers under his command, Sheweth:—That this Regiment or Detachments from it have been constantly on service from the year 1776 to the capitulation of York Town viz: at Danbury, in the Jerseys, from the head of Elk to Philadelphia, at the reduction of Forts Clinton and Montgomery, at Rhode Island and Martha's Vineyard, at the reduction of Charlestown and through the southern provinces, at Cape Far with General Leslie and in Virginia with General Arnold.

That all the officers in the Regiment, with only one exception have been more than six years in the service, are mostly Refugees whose properties have been confiscated and who from their Loyalty have rendered themselves too obnoxious ever to return.

That not having been included in the memorial presented to your

*The King's Rangers were raised under Colonel Robert Rogers, who had previously commanded the Queen's Rangers. He was a brave soldier, and had gained quite a reputation by his services during the French war. He undertook the organization of the King's Rangers in May, 1779, but owing to intemperate habits his success was not very great. The King's Rangers were sent to Halifax in 1779, and afterwards to Prince Edward Island.

Excellency in favor of the other Provincial Regiments, and understanding that Lands in Nova Scotia have been promised to such as were desirous of settling in that country, your memorialists therefore hope they will be considered as entitled to all the advantages which may be given to the other Provincial Regiments, and especially as to Lands in Nova Scotia where they are very desirous of settling and of confirming their attachment to their sovereign by becoming faithful and useful subjects.

John Aldington,
Major Commanding Guides & Pioneers.

Edward Winslow to Ward Chipman.

Halifax, 27th August, 1783.

My dear Chip,—When you cast your eye on the date of this letter you will conclude that I have not much leisure to amuse myself or friends.

I really do think that the River St. John's is the pleasantest part of this country and I am sure the land is better than any I have ever seen. I therefore intend to take my estate upon that river, and as I love you just exactly as I do myself, I intend that you shall fare precisely as I do. When I left it there had been no survey for the Provincials. Since I have arrived here I have obtained an order for Murray and his regiment to take possession of a particular spot, in the neighborhood of which I am determined to lay out farms for half a dozen of my friends, and when they are surveyed and bounded I will apply for the Grants, and—what's more—I will obtain 'em. I am induced to do this for a thousand reasons, one of the most powerful is that the regiment will assist so essentially in clearing, &c. I enclose you a letter which I received from Murray, who when I left the river was prejudiced against the country. You shall have a fine prospect, rocks, hills, &c, and there is no fear of your having water near your house.

If you chuse to build on the Intervale your lower story will be full all the spring season, which is very handy. On this tour I will settle the business.

I have wrote particularly to Penny respecting my father and his family. I cannot reconcile myself to their coming here. I can give you no idea of the expences. If Government will make him any allowance why not spend it comfortably in England. If I must support 'em why not let me do it in a country allowed to be more comfortable and infinitely cheaper than this. I cannot do it here, because, altho' I live with General Fox (that is dine), pay no house rent, nothing for fuel, drink no wine (of my own), hire no servants—nor anything else, I cannot if I were to suffer perdition live on all the pay I can get. I shall submit to better advice, but if there's a chance of his getting a recompence, his being in England is the most effectual way to it—but enough.

I am vastly gratify'd my dear Chip at my situation (embarrassed as my circumstances are), I am precisely on the terms with the General that I could wish. In the morning the formal man of business, and be assured that a more penetrating sensible man is not to be found; in the evening on terms of familiarity and, I flatter myself, friendship. In short I have received such marks of attention and such handsome compliments that my vanity is not a little increased. If there was not now, nor never had been any money in the world, I should do tolerably well, but the d——d stuff always plagues me. I do not know how I get rid of it. I give none away and I spend none, but I am always poorer than Lazarus. I hope you will succeed in obtaining a reimbursement of the money which I have expended on the business of Agent, if not I shall be very much distressed. I have as yet received nothing as Secretary and until it is mentioned to me, I shall not open my lips. Difficulties arose here about a paymaster of contingencies, particularly in the Engineers Department. Col. Morse, who has been very polite to me, proposed to the General to appoint me. I was consulted and I thought he had better omit until the Commander in Chief's pleasure was known. Morse, however, urged it and the General consented. It was proposed to me and I accepted it on one condition, which was that I should be permitted to do the duty (till the Commander in Chief had approved my appointment or appointed another) without receiving any pay for it. I knew this proposal would gratify my friend— it had the desired effect. I now act as sole Muster Master of Provincials, Secretary to the General, and Paymaster to the Engineers and with one Clerk at 5s a day I do all this business I believe to general acceptance. If you come here you will find me in point of reputation what as my friend you'd wish me to be. Thus circumstanced we might by laying our heads together effect some substantial matters for both. I shall be monstrously pleased when it comes my turn again to be of some use in the joint concern.

I have this instant heard that a number of respectable Vassals, Ewings, &c, have arrived at Boston and were not permitted to land. I suppose they will of course return to England. I cannot help hoping that my father will think that the most eligible method for himself and family. This country Chip will do well enough for you and I to bustle in but it is the devil for a helpless man. I think you can convince him of it. Let me know what your determination is with respect to yourself and tell me minutely what you wish me to do. My house here will hold two people so that matter's settled for the Apostle Paul shall not supercede you there.

I never know when to stop. Remember me affectionately to all hands.

I have not received one line from Col. Ludlow since I was in this province. I hope my friend Jack Coffin is recovered. I have great anxiety about him.

Most affectionately yours,

Ed. Winslow.

Maj. Gen. Thos. Musgrave to Edward Winslow.

N. York, 30th Aug., 1783.

Dear Sir,—I am infinitely obliged to you for your very satisfactory letter of the 29th June which was only delivered to me last week. From the encouragement you there give me I fear that I must be further troublesome to you for your assistance in getting my lands located as soon as you have finished your own business and that the Governor is disposed to grant them. There is a circumstance which I did not mention to you before, that may perhaps be of some advantage to me in this matter. My ancestors were among the original Baronets of Nova Scotia* and had very large tracts of land annexed to their Patent and altho' they may have forfeited their pretensions to them by not fulfilling their agreements, yet I should hope they might be restored to me or at least other lands of equal goodness. Should you be of the same opinion and think that this will be some sort of claim you of course will make it, otherwise let it drop.

Give me leave to congratulate you on your new appointment and to assure you that few can feel more pleasure than myself at any good fortune which may attend you or your family. There was no persuading the good Old Gentleman to think of undertaking so long a voyage as that to England, and the remaining here was by no means thought advisable, so that his only alternative was to go to Nova Scotia where I hope he will arrive safe and meet with every comfort his merit and situation entitle him to. From your present employment you must be more thoroughly acquainted with all arrangements than we insignificant beings here, so that I suppose it needless to give you the reports we hear. Gen'l Birch† takes his departure on Sunday next and I have entered on his troublesome office but flatter myself that it will not be for long duration, as every dispatch is making for the evacuation that circumstances will admit.

*Sir William Alexander in 1621 received a grant of Acadia from King James I. He obtained from Charles I. permission to create a number of baronets in Nova Scotia, and 107 of these baronets were actually created during the next ten years. The estates of 34 were situated in what is now New Brunswick, 15 were in Nova Scotia, 24 in Cape Breton and 34 in Anticosti. Baronets continued to be created up to the time of the union of England and Scotland. There were more than 280 in all.

†General Birch was commandant of the city of New York during the greater part of the Revolutionary war. He was colonel in the 17th Light Dragoons.

I shall beg to be remembered most kindly to your Chieftain and all enquiring friends, and am with great truth D'r Sir,

Most sincerely yours,

Thos. Musgrave.*

Col. Benjamin Thompson to Edward Winslow.

Pall Mall Court 10th Sept. 1783.

Dear Winslow,—As you possibly have left American before this letter can reach Nova Scotia I shall leave a duplicate of it for you in London.

I am just upon the eve of setting out upon my travels, and it is not a small mortification to me that I shall be absent when you will arrive here. I shall leave London on Sunday next, shall cross from Dover to Calais, and from thence shall pass through Flanders to Strasburg, and by Ulm and Munich to Vienna where I propose to winter. In the Spring I shall visit Hungary, Bohemia, Saxony and the King of Prussia's Dominions, & from Berlin shall probably shape my Course towards old England, which I mean to make my home. How long I shall be absent from it I cannot tell. If there should be a war in any part of Europe (which does not at present seem probable) I shall stay abroad longer, as I would not miss such an opportunity of improving myself in my profession; but if there should be nothing of that sort to detain me I shall return as soon as I have satisfied my curiosity with seeing what is curious in the Northern parts of Europe. My first scheme was a much wilder, or if you please, a more desperate one, as you will see by my last letters, but the goodness of my friends in this country has induced me to change my plan.

Lord Sackville† has had the goodness to charge himself with the care of all my affairs of every kind, both public and private, in my absence; and he permits me to tell my friends that they may consider him in that light. I have left with him all my papers, and memorandums of all my wishes relative to my affairs, with full and legal powers to act for me in everything.

In my last letter I took the liberty of mentioning to you my wishes respecting my pecuniary concerns in your part of the Country. I have now only to beg you would be so good as to take charge of them, and that you would remit to Lord Sackville any monies you may have of mine, or that you may receive for me either as pay, or as payment of the Debts due to me from the officers of my Regiment. You may if you please correspond with me as usual, only directing your Letters to the care of Lord

*General Thomas Musgrave succeeded General Birch as commandant at New York in 1783. His name appears among a list of officers who on Dec. 16, 1783, applied for lands at Prince William, on the St. John river.

† Lord Sackville is better known as Lord George Germaine. He was Lieut. Col. Benjamin Thompson's friend and patron.

Sackville, Pall Mall, London. His Lordship will open the Letters and you will get answers to them, but it will be as well to write to Lord Sackville directly. If you come to England you will wait upon him of course, and if you dont like him very much indeed I shall be greatly disappointed. I have told him that he will like you and that he would do so even were you my enemy instead of being one of my best friends. It is now a long time since we parted, and I have not yet had the pleasure to receive a single line from you, tho' I have wrote you whole Volumes. Pray let me hear from you soon, and often. Your letters will reach me safe, wherever I may be, provided you address them to the care of Lord Sackville, and I will write to you through the same channel.

Remember me to all my friends in Nova Scotia, and believe me ever, My Dear Winslow,

Yours most sincerely

B. Thompson.

Major Joshua Upham to Col. Winslow.

New York, Sept, 12, 1783.

Dear Winslow,—I am allowed five minutes only to write to you. I beg you will use your influence that the District and Country to be settled by the Provincials be erected into a County and called by the name of Carleton—that the principal Town on the River St. John be called Guy.* Surely no man has so effectually contributed to the settlement of that Country as Sir Guy Carleton. I wish the Provincial Officers may have the credit of proving the above. I submit the matter with pleasure to your management; have written to Murray on the Subject. I am sure you will gladly give us your Influence to effect every possible mark of gratitude and respect to our best friend and most effectual Patron.

I have the honor to be dear Sir,

Your friend & humble servant,

J. Upham.

Sir Guy Carleton to Br. Gen. Fox.

New York, 12th Sept. 1783.

Sir,—I enclose a return of troops embarked for Nova Scotia. The British and British American Regiments that go to the River St. John's, are commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Hewlett of Delancey's 2nd Batt. who has directions, together with Capt. Prevost, Deputy Inspector General of British American Forces, to disband them as soon after their arrival as it can be done with convenience, but not later than the 20th of October

*This idea fortunately did not prevail.

on which day I shall consider them all disbanded. He is directed to report his proceedings to you of which you will give me the earliest information. The Regiments have received a quantity of necessaries and stores at this place, so that they can have no demands whatever after their arrival.

I am informed from good authority, that the people from Machias,* mentioned by Governor Parr to have placed themselves on the Eastern side of the River St. Croix, have withdrawn from thence, but I should recommend it to the Governor to make such arrangements as will effectually secure that frontier before our Post at Penobscot is evacuated.

I am Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

Guy Carleton.

Sir Guy Carleton to Lieut. Col. Hewlett.

New York, Sept. 12, 1783.

Sir,—You are to take command of the British and British American Troops mentioned in the margin, and which are to proceed to the River St. John's in the Bay of Fundy in Nova Scotia. On your arrival there you will see that the stores intended for them are duly delivered, and you will take such steps as shall be necessary for the several corps proceeding immediately to the places alloted for their settlement, where they are to be disbanded on their arrival, provided it does not exceed the 20th October, on or before which day Capt. Prevost, Deputy Inspector of British American forces, has directions to disband them, for which purpose you will give him the necessary assistance wherever you may happen to be at the time, adhering strictly to the King's Instructions published in the order of the 17th August last.

The disembarkation of the troops must not be delayed as the transports must return with all possible despatch. Directions have been given to Mr. Colville,† assistant agent of all small craft at the River St. John's, to afford every assistance in his power to the corps in getting to their places of destination, and the commanding officers of corps will make application to him for that purpose.

I am, &c., &c,

Guy Carleton.

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*The leader of this invasion was the rebel Colonel John Allan, who fled from Cumberland in 1775. He had at one time been a representative of that township in the Nova Scotia house of assembly.

†John Colville, here referred to, commanded a company of Volunteer Artillery in 1795. He was a public spirited citizen, a man of education and a leading city merchant. He built the old "Crookshank House" on Chipman's Hill, which was pulled down a year or two ago, at that time the oldest building in the city of St. John south of Union street. Capt. Colville died in 1818 at the age of 70 years. See Baxter's History of N. B. Regt. of Artillery, pp. 8, 9.

[Names of corps placed in the margin of the letter preceding are as follows: The Queens Rangers, Kings American Regiment, Detachment of the Garrison Battalion, New York Volunteers, 1st De Lancey's, 2d De Lanceys, Loyal American Regiment, 1st Battalion New Jersey Volunteers, 2d ditto, 3d ditto, Prince of Wales American Regiment, Pennsylvania Loyalists, Maryland Loyalists, American Legion, Guides & Pioneers, Detachment Kings American Dragoons, Detachment North Carolina Volunteers.]

Governor Fanning to Edward Winslow.

Halifax, 21st Sept, 1783.

My dear Sir,—I have the pleasure to acquaint you that Gov'r Wentworth and myself arrived here yesterday in the Gray Hound packet, from Falmouth, and thinking it may be of consequence to you to have the letters which I brought for you as early as possible I commit them, with several other letters for our Friends, to the care of an Express which I understand is going to Gen. Fox. As I expect you will return here with the Gen'l in a few days I say nothing of business or politicks. Governor Wentworth and myself should both write to the General if it was not that we are told he is to return on the 26th Instant. This we desire you to be so good as to communicate to him with a tender of our compliments and best wishes. At the same time we beg your acceptance of our compliments and congratulations to yourself on your allowance of half-pay as Muster Master General and your still better fortune of being Secretary to Gen'l Fox.

I am most sincerely yours,

Edm'd Fanning.

S. S. Blowers* to Ward Chipman.

Halifax Septem'r 25th, 1783.

My dear Chip,—I fully intended to have written to you by the Bonetta but I was in such a fidget about my lodgings &c. that I could not find time. I wrote indeed to Jeffrey but fear the letter was not put on board.

*Sampson Salter Blowers of Boston graduated at Harvard in 1763. He was an exceedingly able lawyer, the friend and associate of Adams and Quincy. He studied law with Jonathan Bliss in the office of Lieut. Gov. Hutchinson. After a severe experience at the hands of his countrymen at the outbreak of the Revolution he went to New York, where he filled several positions in connection with the army. He came to Halifax at the peace in 1783 and was not long afterwards appointed attorney general of Nova Scotia in 1785. In 1809 he was made chief justice. He died in 1842 in his 100th year, having outlived nearly all his contemporaries, and having, it is said, never worn an overcoat in his life. It is believed that he never again placed foot on the soil of Massachusetts from the hour he left it during the war. He left his estate to William Blowers Bliss, the second son of his old friend Chief Justice Bliss of New Brunswick.

Mr. Deblois took charge of it and is apprehensive that it missed the Opportunity, by that Ship, and went by a small Schooner which sailed about the same time. Our passage was as well as we had reason to expect, and we are now comfortably lodged at a Mrs. Whitty's where we have three Rooms and a kitchen for eight pounds a month, and are now all three of us, sitting in tolerable health and spirits round a good fire. I have been politely received by the Governor, and have seen several of the great men here, and am told by them all that my coming among them is agreeable and that I shall soon find business. This last however I am inclined to doubt, in any extensive degree. From all I can learn there is very little business in our way to be done here, and that but indifferently paid for, and there is no want of lawyers. I hope indeed as the Settlements increase there will be more need of us. At any rate I have started in the race and must now do my best to get on. The Supreme Court will meet next month when I expect to be sworn & shall be better able to judge of all Matters, Men and Things. Ned has not yet returned from St. John's, but is soon expected. The family are tollerably well settled in a small House on the Hill, which the Col. had taken for his Office &c. The old Gentl'n has just been to tell me that he hears his son has hired, for 3 years, a small Farm and House which is now repairing at or near Annapolis, which he supposes is fitting for him and the family, and that he expects to remove there as soon as Ned returns to this place

Pray have you heard anything from England relative to the Epochs. A Paquet arrived here two days ago with Gov's Wentworth and Fanning, but they seem to know nothing but that the Provincial Corps are established and the Muster Master General with them, but I cannot learn how it is with his Deputy. There is an Act of Parliament made appointing Commissioners to examine and ascertain the losses of the Loyalists who are to exhibit their Claims before the 25th (I think) of March next, after which none will be received. Gov'r Wentworth has not brought his family but they are to follow in the Spring it is said. He is come here as Surveyor General [of the King's woods] with £800 a year and a Guinea a day while on actual Service. Col. Fanning, who appears to be much pleased with his appointment,* talks of going to Annapolis or Port Roseway to reside, as he cannot get a house here to his mind.

Pen Winslow has been confined with a bad Cold ever since she left the Ship but is now getting better. She desires me to tell you it will be your turn to monodize very soon she fears. Mrs. Blowers and Betsy beg to be particularly remembered. Mrs. Blowers says she wants you here very much to enliven the gloomy Scenes which surround her. The weather to be sure is abominably dull and the Town looks as solitary com-

*As lieutenant governor of Nova Scotia.

pared with New York, as Newport used to when we were there. Everything is intollerably dear and the old Inhabitants are accumulating wealth at a great rate by the exorbitant prices which they extort from the Strangers.

Pray when are the Troops to leave New York? and do you hold your resolution of going to England? How goes on the important business of the various Boards with you? and is there to be any pay given? Who is gone or going to England, who coming here, and who intend to stay in the Country? Answer me all these Questions, and tell me everything foreign and domestic before you depart or I shall snarl at you. Let me be remembered affectionately to Taylor & Jeffrey, and believe me most cordially yours,

S. S. Blowers.

Edward Winslow Sr. to Ward Chipman.

Halifax 26th Septr. 1783.

Dr. Sir,—Apprehending it will not be disagreeable to you to have a Short history of our voiage, present situation, &c, I take this opportunity of advising you that after a disagreeable passage of fourteen days, during the most of the time every passenger (myself excepted) were very sick, we arrived at this Garison; on my arrival found Ned absent on an Excursion to the River St. Johns with Gen'l Fox, &c; previous to his departure a pretty little box was procured by him for our reception, much of the size of the Bowery house, for which I am to pay £45 pr Ann. It was very lucky for me that he took that precaution, as it is almost impracticable to get a house to put your head in. I have been treated with great politeness & Civility by the principle people here and have been at two Balls and one concert, at the concert was exceedingly good musick vocal and instrumental, there appeared to be nothing wanting to make it compleat but your voice to have been added to the same; altho' there was a Gent that sang extremely well, I can truly say I had much rather hear you than him, there is something so sprightly in your Singing that affords me more pleasure than almost any other person. There was present at the concert, Gov'r Parr, Gov'r Wentworth and Gov'r Fanning, with a number of Brilliant Ladies & Gent'n of the Navy & Army, had you been there, how you would have danced.

Col. Fanning assures me the provincial Cores are all established on half pay, that the same is allowed to Ned "dur. vita." As I suggest it will not be long before you cross the great and mighty deep, I do most sincerely wish you a pleasant passage, a safe arrival at the great City, a joyfull winter, and in the Spring a Sight of you at Nova Scotia; your company in

the most dreary part of N. S. will make the same agreeable to me & myne who frequently talk of and wish you to spend the winter at this place. I have a favour to request of you when in G. Britain viz. that you would inquire of Mr. Gyer,* if anything has been done relative to the matter I intrusted him with on my arrival at N. York. When the port of Boston was shut up the Collector Comptroller & other Officers of the Customs at Boston were directed by the Commissioner to remove to Plymouth with their books, papers, &c, and to open their office at Plymouth, &c., and my office as Coll'r for the port of Plymouth was to cease until the port of Boston should be again open'd, which was then expected would be the case in a very short time. On the third day of June, 1774, the Custom-house books, papers, &c, were removed from Boston to Plymouth, and the Custom house business carried on by Mr. Harrison, Halloway, &c, which was heretofore transacted by me, and so continued to do business until the first of Oct'r, 1775, during which time I provided for them an Office, fuel, and candles, which with the fees received for the Collector (which I had the promise of being made up to me) amounted to more than three hundred pounds Ster. On the 12th of Sept. 1774, Mr. Harrison the Collector gave me his note of hand for fifty pound sterling pr. Ann. for doing his business until the port of Boston should be again opened. Altho' I do not expect him to pay me until the port of Boston was again opened, yet I think he can have no objection to paying me for transacting his business from the 12th of Septr. 1774 to the 12th of Oct. 1775, during which time I transacted his business, he being absent, amounting to £54. 3. 4. . * * * I am now told my letter must be sent in half an hour, you have my most grateful acknowledgments for the manifold instances of your bounty towards me, and my most ardent wishes for your happiness here and hereafter. My family, Laura in particular, Joyn in the above prayer. Ned is not yet returned. Adieu my Friend, and believe me

Yrs. most sincerely,

Ed. Winslow.

Lt. Col. Hewlett to Sir Guy Carleton.

St. John's, Bay of Fundy, 29th Sept. 1783.

Sir,—Agreeable to your Excellency's orders I have the honour to inform you that the troops under my command arrived at the River St. John's the 27th Instant except the ship "Martha" † with the Maryland

*Frederick William Gyer of Boston was a friend of Edward Winslow. He was considered wealthy, but a few years later failed for "an amazing amount," and in his failure Ward Chipman was a heavy loser. When Winslow's young son, Murray, was sent to school in England he received a kindly welcome from the Gyer family.

†The transport ship "Martha" was wrecked on a ledge near the Seal Islands, and of 174 persons on board 99 perished and 75 were saved by fishing boats and brought to St. John.

Loyalists and part of the 2nd Battalion DeLancey's and the ship "Esther" with part of the Jersey Volunteers, of which ships no certain accounts have been received since their sailing. This day a small party of the Guides and Pioneers are landed, which proceed from the Falls up the River St. John's tomorrow if the weather permits.

I have given the necessary orders for the Troops to disembark tomorrow and encamp just above the Falls on the River St. John's from which place they shall be forwarded with all possible expedition to the place of their destination, but am much afraid the want of small craft will greatly prevent their dispatch.

I have the honor to be Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Rich'd Hewlett.

LOSS OF THE MARTHA.

On the 23rd Sept'r Ult., four o'Clock of the morning the Transport ship Martha — Willis, Master, struck on a ledge of Rocks between Cape Sable and the Seal or Tusket Islands. The Master had said the preceding evening that he had seen Land, and of course every Person on Board supposed that he would lay to in the night; but as he set off from New York in a suit of old sails, some of which he had been obliged to change before the above unfortunate day; the few men who composed the Crew (for he had not on Board above twelve seamen and boys capable of navigating the vessel) were employed a number of hours, rigging and setting up a new main top-sail in the place of one which had gone to pieces early in the night, the weather being tempestuous. This employment of the Crew, it is supposed, prevented the master from Standing off and on, and unhappily at four of the morning the Vessel struck. The Master after fruitless attempts of the Soldiers, at his request, to keep the pumps clear, was solicited to get the boats out, but he declined it, insisting that the Vessel could be got off, even after the water had gained considerably in the hold. After some time he ordered the Boats out. The cutter being got out, he ordered four Seamen to keep her at a distance, till the long Boat would be got out, but unfortunately after she had gone into the water the mainmast falling on her suddenly, stove her to pieces. The situation of the poor people on board at this crisis became truly lamentable; their grand resource being lost the cutter and Jolly boat only remained from which they could possibly hope for safety. At this time the Ship was full of Water it must be allowed, but she was fast aground on the Rocks and every sea beat over her middle deck, but no material part had given way, the Mast only excepted. In this situation the Master ordered the Jolly

Boat to be launched over the side, and, to the surprise of every body—after repeatedly proclaiming that he would be one of the last to leave the ship, he jumped into her as she went over the side, rowed to the cutter, which lay off, got into her, and after taking in a few Men who in that moment of desperation swam out to the Boat, he inhumanly pushed off for the shore turning the Jolly Boat adrift and empty in full view of the unhappy People on board, who in vain called out to him for relief, and contrary to the Solicitations of the Commanding Officer on board, who requested him to come towards the stern of the ship and concert some plan for the General safety and to comfort the poor Unhappy Souls on Board.

It appears besides, by the Testimony of officers who were taken up by a Frenchman at the bottom of the Bay (viz, Lieut Laffin, Lieut. Henley and Doctor Stafford) that the Master of the Martha had called at the settlement below and declared that he believed every soul on board to have perished, and that he rather inclined to discourage their intentions of going to look out for the Wreck to save any person who might have survived than to push them forward to so charitable a deed or to offer his assistance to effect so good a purpose.

It is further well known to the officers who survived that very many things of great value might have been saved to the Insurers by the least care or industry on the part of the Master of the Ship—as the French Inhabitants at the Bottom of the Bay and the People of Yarmouth and other settlements on the Bay of Fundy took up Cables, Anchors and many other things of considerable value.

I certify this to be an exact Copy from the original Journal or Relation of Captain P. Kenedy, Commanding the Troops on board the Ship Martha Transport.

St. Johns, Nova Scotia, 10th Oct'r, 1783.

(Signed) Aug. Provost,
D'y Insp'r-Gen'l, B. A. Forces.

Edward Winslow to Ward Chipman.

Halifax, 10th Oct'r, 1783.

My dear, gentle, pleasant tempered, amiable Friend ;—

* * * * * * * * *

My Father and family I thank God are in a fair way of being settled tolerably. The attention of General Fox, [Col.] Small and very many other persons to them has given them vast pleasure and excited my gratitude. I am determined not to distress myself about their future support altho' I acknowledge I feel some degree of anxiety on that subject. As soon as I am able I intend preparing some kind of papers to be forwarded

with certificate (by way of claim) to England. Governors Wentworth and Fanning are to dictate them. The General has made the most friendly offers on this subject and I flatter myself his interest will be of some use. Until I see you Chip I will not attempt giving you an idea of the brotherly kindness and uncommon friendship which I have experienced from him. In our late tour thro' this country we have been highly delighted—he is enamoured with St. John's. He has taken Town-lots for himself, Generals Musgrave & Clark in our neighborhood at the mouth of the river, and we have fixed on a spot 130 miles from the mouth where those Gentlemen are to locate one thousand acres each* in conjunction with you and myself who have the same allowance. The Goernor has already assured us that it shall be done. It is at the head of the township which is located for Murray's regiment, and he has directed me to make out a power of agency to improve their tracts, to build houses, &c, &c, &c. You may laugh at what I tell you as very romantic, but he affirms to me in his most serious moments that if he has interest enough to obtain a command or an appointment he will certainly remain in this province—but should he fail in this attempt, he swears that after he has been a little time in England he will come out and spend a few years here. In short it is a hobby horse that he will ride at all events. It was his wish that I should go to England with him, but on conversing with Wentworth and Fanning I have concluded not to go. They assure me that both of us have our half pay and the idea of boring them for anything else is really painful to me just now. If he gets an appointment here (and they say he certainly will, either as Governor of the Province or succeed to the appointment of Governor of Annapolis which General Monckton had) I shall stay here with peculiar advantages, and I think my Dad will have better solicitors than myself for a recompence for his losses. Gen'l Fox falls in with this idea and now thinks it best to stay.

I have long letters from Thompson, Loring, &c. My hand pains me so damnably that I can't write any more. [Hand writing, which had been cramped, in the next sentence alters to usual style and continues.]

I must touch on a subject of some importance, I submit this as everything else of consequence entirely to your decision. Major Prevost told me that Sir Guy was determined to fill the vacancies in the Provincial Corps. By the unfortunate accident of Ludlows [lost in ship "Martha"] there are many vacancies. You know how I love my Boy—If you can effect an appointment for him as Ensign in any of their regiments—the half pay will secure him an education which I am very ambitious to give him. * * * *

Gen'l Fox has been very civil to Blowers, and on looking about he

*This was in the Township of Prince William.

seems tolerably well satisfy'd. He is appointed one of the Board of Accounts here.

Send your mare whenever you please, I can take better care of her than any man in Nova Scotia. Thompson's William lives at my house and my horses are all in fine order.

Adieu, most sincerely yours,

Edward Winslow.

Inclos'd is a lock which Pop desired me to forward to you. My best compliments to all my friends. I have received as yet no orders to insert absent officers names in the abstracts and I feel I'll be a little puzled about Thompson and Philips.

Deputy Adjutant General to Brig. Gen. Fox.

New York, 10th Oct'r, 1783.

Sir,—I am directed by the Commander in Chief to inform you, that he has given orders for a number of Stoves to be sent to Port Roseway, Annapolis, and St. John's River for the use of the Refugees at those places, to assist in securing them against the inclemency of the approaching season. I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient

Humble servant,

Fred'ck Mackenzie, D. A. Gen'l.

Capt. F. Philips to Edward Winslow.

New York, Oct'r 11th, 1783.

Dear Ned,—I wrote to you by Judge Blowers informing you of an order from the Commander in Chief by which you were enabled to receive my pay at the same time requesting you would remit it for me to England.

I was exceedingly happy to hear of the safe arrival of your Father and Family, I hope they are by this time comfortably settled. Make my best respects to the old Lady and Gentlemen and my love to the Girls.

I am at last happily fixed for my Passage to England in a transport allotted to Lt.-Col. Drummond of the Artillery, who gave me the most friendly and polite invitation to accompany him. We expect to sail in about three weeks, or perhaps not till the final Evacuation of this Place. If you can write here in that time I would be much obliged to you. It is now 2 o'clock and I dine at Hardenbrook's at three, so Adieu, God bless you.

Yours sincerely,

Fred Philips.

P. S.—When you write to Polly, give my love to her, tell her to kiss the young ones for me.

Lt. Col. Hewlett to Sir Guy Carleton.

St. John's River, 13th Oct., 1783.

Sir,—Since my last of the 29th September I have the honour to inform your Excellency of the arrival of the ship "Esther"; the "Martha" transport with the Maryland Loyalists and detachment of the 2d Battalion De Lancey's having been wrecked on a ledge of rocks off the Seal Islands between Cape Sable and the Bay of Fundy. Yesterday arrived the "Bridgewater," and this day the entire of the troops were disbanded and are getting up the river as speedily as possible. The want of small craft is the only delay they have.

We have had a great confusion among the troops in having small hatchets issued them in lieu of axes.

This will be handed to you by Major Prevost, to whom I and the officers commanding corps are under many obligations for his great attention and quickness of dispatch. Must beg leave to refer you to him for further information. I have the honour to be,

With much respect, &c, &c,

Rich'd Hewlett.

Conimanding Br. & Br. Am. Corps.

Sarah Winslow to Benjamin Marston.

Halifax, October 18, 1783.

My Worthy Cousin, I am very sure, will receive pleasure from hearing his Uncle Winslow and Family are once more so Bless'd as to be together. My Father, Mother, Sister, and myself safely arrived at Halifax the fourteenth of September. Our voyage was a tedious one. We set sail with every flattering appearance, but in a few hours after the wind came contrary and continued so the whole way, which rendered it a disagreeable fifteen days. From the evening after we left New York untill the day we landed at this place, not one hour good weather had we. Very sea sick and extremely frightened were we all except my Father who, good man, was neither sick nor afraid of anything, except that he should not get victuals enough to eat—which was rather an unnecessary concern, for no others of the party had any inclination to partake of his delicacies. His continuing well and our being favoured with one of the best ships in the Garrison of New York, and the kindest and most obliging man in the world for a commander was our support. Greatly are we indebted to our friend the Commissary General* for giving us a thousand advantages that no other family has had. His friendly attention continued to the last.

*Brook Watson.

He hurried us away, thinking it was the season to avoid storms, gave us an excellent Vessell, without one passenger but those we chose ourselves, which were only Mr. Blowers and family. We embarked in a most beautiful morning. Friend Watson came off a little way with us for the pleasure of a sail, returned delighted with our prospect—but contrary to his wishes and opinion when he left us, instead of having no storm we had a sort of one all the passage. The Ladys had anticipated every horror, but I confess my heart was so deeply wounded at parting with a number of tenderly beloved friends that I thought not of the distresses of a voyage Numerous were the friends that we left, but with thankfulness I mention that we find some wherever we go.

I have now the gratification, my cousin, of seeing my Father's mind more composed than for some time past. Before we left our delightfull retreat at the Bowery, his mind was greatly perplext to know what to do. We were sweetly situated there about two miles out of the City. Our very valuable Friend Doctor Bayley, with many others, were extremely anxious for our remaining there the winter; my Brother was equally desirous for our going to England. What was best to be done the good man could not tell; finally we determined to come to this place. We were a little disconserted at not finding Edward here, but his friends came immediately on board, and upon being informed he had hired a small House for an office we immediately took possession of it. We were for some time deprived of the happiness of having him with us but enjoyed the real pleasure of finding him universally esteemed & beloved. A large number of his friends gave every proof of their attachment to him by the vast attention paid my Father and the family. Every hour did some friendly one call to offer their service, and seemed vieing with each other who should do the most for us. Col. Small endeavoured to prevail with us to accept of part of his House; kindly assured us we should be as entirely detached from his family as we chose to be. To do justice to his benevolence and attention and that of many others is beyond my pen. My Brother's return has made us happy. In addition to the inexpressable happiness his company ever affords, we enjoy that of seeing him rejoicing that we are at Nova Scotia.

Greatly my good cousin could I enlarge upon the subject that has brought us all to this uncultivated country, but as it can answer no good purpose I endeavour to be silent—but must to you so far say that I do think, after everything else has been done that's horrid, than any part of the only elysium the suffering ones have should be called by the name of Shelburne* is rather too bad. Strange that after such a variety of dis-

*Lord Shelburne was excessively unpopular with the majority of the Loyalists because regarded as the author of a peace without honor. The Loyalists

agreeables a matter of so little importance should disturb, perhaps you will say. * * * *

My Brother, since his tour with the General, has had the misfortune to have the gout in his right arm, it is now better but still so painful that he only writes what no one can do for him. He desires me to give his most affectionate love to you. The present report is General Fox is to be Governor of Nova Scotia, but whether it is to be depended upon is not yet known.

My Brother is undetermined whether he shall go to England or remain here this winter. By Governor Wentworth & [Col.] Fanning he received numbers of letters. His friends not only urge but entreat his going home, say it would be of vast advantage to him. Lord Percy is particularly desirous for him to be there. Should he conclude upon crossing the Atlantic how shall we support being again separated from him. * *

Brig. Gen. Fox to Sir Guy Carleton.

Halifax, 19th October, 1783.

Sir,—In answer to the private letter of the 5th of September with which I was honoured, I have now the pleasure to inform your Excellency that the fact respecting a number of persons having settled themselves on the Nova Scotia side of the River St. Croix, was not as had been represented but was rather, as your Excellency supposed, a few lawless vagrants without any fixed designs. I am therefore perfectly satisfied that there was not a sufficient cause to send a detachment of His Majesty's Troops to that place, and should intruders hereafter break into the limits of this province I am well convinced that opposing them with Troops should be the last resort.

I am sensible of the necessity of great vigilance in the Government of Nova Scotia at this time and the vast importance on her part of being a most punctual observer of good faith. * * *

In my letter of the 3rd instant I did myself the honor to inclose a proposal for the Distribution of the Troops in this District. I hope the reasons which I have assigned for stationing Troops at Cumberland, Annapolis and Fort Howe will be satisfactory to your Excellency. The season is now so far advanced that hutting for the winter is impracticable, but should it be thought advisable on any future occasion I should think the high lands about Horton the most eligible situation for the corps of

contended that their interests had been sacrificed to those of their enemies without a single effective condition in their favor. The British government afterwards took steps to provide some compensation for their losses.

the Troops, because the most centrical and on the communication between Halifax and Annapolis.

* * * * * *

I have the honor to be, Sir,

H. E. Fox, Br. Gen'l.

[The original of this letter in the Winslow papers is a rough draft with erasures and interlineations written in Col. Winslow's hand, and undoubtedly drafted by him at Gen. Fox's request.]

Memorial of Edward Winslow, Sr.

[Re Compensation for Losses in the Revolution.]

To the Honorable the Commissioners appointed by Act of Parliament to enquire into the Losses and Services of all such persons who have suffered in their rights, properties and professions during the late unhappy dissentions in America in consequence of their Loyalty to His Majesty and the British Government:—

The Memorial of Edward Winslow, Esqr., late of the province of Massachusetts Bay in New England, most humbly shews:—

That for a long series of years he has served his Sovereign with fidelity and has discharged the duties of several publick stations without censure.

That when the late contest between Great Britain and America commenced he was first magistrate in the County of Plymouth, Collector of His Majesty's Customs, Registrar of the Court of Probate and (jointly with his son the present Muster Master General of his Majesty's Provincial Forces) Clerk of the Common Pleas and General Sessions of the Peace. The income from these employments together with his family estate rendered his circumstances sufficiently affluent.

That in the year 1775, on his pointed refusal to take the oaths of allegiance to the Rebel Governments, he was by their usurped authority deprived of all his offices and deprived also of any assistance from his son, who before that time had escaped to the British Army.

Your Memorialist will not trouble your Honors with a repetition of indignities and persecutions almost as incredible as they have been severe. He only begs leave to say that by his attachment to the cause of Government he has experienced a transition from the most comfortable situation to a state of poverty and distress. And that from being as much respected for his family, property and personal character as any man in that country, he has been for nine years last past the butt of the licentious and has received every species of insult and abuse which the utmost rancour and malice could invent. That worn out by their inhuman persecutions at

the age of sixty seven years, labouring under many infirmities, he arrived at the Garrison in New York in the month of December 1781, with part of his family and in a few months after was joined by the remaining part of them.

That upon his application to His Excellency Sir Henry Clinton, K. B., General & Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Forces in North America, he granted your memorialist a pension of two hundred pounds sterling pr. Annum, also rations of provisions and fuel for himself and family, and that the same allowance has been continued to him by his Excellency Sir Guy Carleton ever since.

That upon the thirteenth of August last, upon his being well informed that the Garrison at New York would be speedily evacuated, he with his family consisting of an aged wife, two daughters, and three black servants, imbarked at New York, and on the fourteenth of September following arrived at Halifax, where he is an utter stranger.

That he has no means of support but a very trifling sum saved out of his pension from Government and which will be expended in a very little time. His age (being now seventy years old) and infirmities and the necessities of a family unaccustomed to want, which has no other dependence but upon him, makes him look forward with great solicitude and anxiety for some permanent source of subsistence. Your memorialist most humbly begs leave to suggest to honorable Commissioners a true state of his situation and circumstances at the commencement of the late unhappy war and of the losses that he sustained thereby in his property and professions without exaggerating the same.

And he doth in the most serious manner aver and declare that his propertie at that time in the townships of Plymouth and Marshfield were of the value of £1500 stg., and that the annual incomes he received from his said estate and from the professions and the offices which he sustained amounted to the sum of £300 stg., and that he was at that time justly indebted to sundry persons to the amount of £500. That soon after his arrival at N. York the whole of his property was taken and sold for less than half the value thereof, your memorialist not being suffered to return, nor any attorney that dare to appear in his behalf.

Your memorialist further begs leave to say that his continuance for seven years among insulting and persecuting enemies arose from his apprehension that the war would have been many years at an end sooner than it was, and that it would have terminated very differently from what has happened, as also from the great reluctance your memorialist had of being burthensome to Government, always relying on his Majesty's proclamations and other proclamations held out to the Loyalists, that they should be protected in their properties and professions. Altho' your memorialist

has not suffered so largely as many others have done, yet he has sacrificed his all, on account of his loyalty to his Sovereign. He therefore looks up to your Honours for your aid and assistance that such compensation be made him for the losses of propertie and professions as in your wisdom you may think just, without which your memorialist must be most miserable the little time he has to live.

For the truth of the facts above stated your Memorialist begs leave to refer your Honors to the Lieut, Governor Oliver,* the Chief Justice, the Members of his Majesty's Council for the province of Massachusetts Bay, and the Commissioners of his Majesty's Customs who resided there, Richard Harrison and Robt. Hallowell the late Collector & Comptroller of the Customs of the port of Boston, who are all now in Great Britain.

E. Winslow.

Halifax, N. Scotia, 22d October, 1783.

This day inclosed a copy of the above memorial to Brooke Watson, Esqr, in my letter to him, also another to Sir William Pepperel† by the Greyhound Packett, Capt. Dunn, another to Robert Rashleigh‡ Esq'r, & a fourth to Judge Ludlow.

Lieut. Col. Allen to Edward Winslow.

Annapolis, Octo. 24th, 1783.

Dear Sir,—By Mr. Reading I send you the Commander in Chief's dispatches for General Fox. You will see by a paper enclosed that he is appointed Governor of the Province; what to think of the information I don't know as I did not hear it mentioned by the General before I left

*Lieut. Governor Thomas Oliver, a native of Cambridge, Mass., and a graduate of Harvard in 1783, was the last royal lieutenant governor of Massachusetts. In March, 1776, he went with the British forces to Halifax, and from thence to England, where he died in 1815 at the age of 82 years. His son, Wm. S. Oliver, was the first sheriff of St. John, and his grandson, Wm. S. Oliver, succeeded Benjamin Marston as sheriff of Miramichi.

†Sir William Pepperell, baronet, commanded the very remarkable expedition which in 1745 captured the stronghold of Louisburg. He was the only native of America to receive the rank of baronet prior to the Revolution. He died in England in 1759. His only son died childless, and his estate and title passed to a son of his daughter, Mrs. Nathaniel Sparhawk, whose name was William Pepperell Sparhawk. By the terms of his grandfather's will he was required on coming of age to procure an act of the legislature to take the title of Sir William Pepperell, baronet. This he did. He is accordingly the Sir William referred to above. He graduated at Harvard in 1766. Having been driven into banishment by the Americans, he went to England in 1775, and on the voyage his wife died. His immense possessions in Maine and large property in Massachusetts were confiscated. In England he proved himself the friend and patron of the Loyalists. A full account of Sir William Pepperell will be found in Sabine's American Loyalists.

‡Robert Rashleigh acted as agent in England for many of the Loyalists in drawing their half-pay and other transactions. He died about Sept., 1787, and Brook Watson then joined the surviving partners, and the firm of Robert Rashleigh & Co. became that of Brook Watson & Co.

[New] York, I can only say I wish it were true, and I assure you this report gave great Pleasure to our Friends in N. York for two reasons, as they suppose the change would be of service to the Loyalists in general and no disadvantage to you. I can assure you in a conversation I had with the Commander in Chief just before my departure, you were mentioned by him as one who must be provided for. I find you are the first upon the list with him and I believe he is not a mere man of words. I mention this for your Comfort which I suppose we all stand in need of.

I had very stormy distressing passage, but thank God have brought my family all safe and in tolerable health. Capts. Campbell* and Stelle† are come over from St. John's to spend the winter with me but cannot draw their rations here without a special order, will you procure it and send it to them. You know Mr. Williams‡ is very exact. I find my friends Barclay and Robinson‖ have got an order for Boards here. I am building at St. Johns and shall be very much obliged to you for an order on Major Studholme §for such proportion as is customary. I have made no application here as I saw my boards on my own land but have found it very expensive. One more order and I shall give you no more trouble at this present writing. My brother Will Allen came with me to St. Johns but as he is no soldier he cannot draw his rations. Will you be so kind as to speak to the General and procure an order that he may draw for himself

*The reference is probably to Captain Dugald Campbell, late of the 42nd regiment.

†Captain Edward Stelle of the New Jersey Volunteers. He settled at Kingsclear and was one of the members for York County in the first house of assembly elected in 1785.

‡Thomas Williams, ordnance store keeper and commissary at Annapolis Royal, grandfather of Sir William Fenwick Williams, the hero of Kars. He died April 22, 1789, "having served His Majesty during 45 years with great reputation."

‖Major Thomas Barclay and Lieut. John Robinson are here referred to. The latter was a son of Col. Beverly Robinson of the Loyal American Regiment. He came to St. John after a brief stay at Annapolis and married a daughter of Hon. George D. Ludlow, chief justice of New Brunswick. He was deputy paymaster of the forces, a member of the council and for many years mayor of the city of St. John. In 1821 he was appointed the first president of the Bank of New Brunswick—the first chartered bank in the province. He was also province treasurer and filled other important offices. He died October 8, 1828, aged 67 years.

§Major Gilfred Studholme was born near Dublin, where he owned a small estate and had relatives. He entered the army and in 1776 was given a commission in Gov. Legge's "Loyal Nova Scotia Volunteers." (See Murdoch's History of Nova Scotia, vol. II., p. 581). He was on July 15, 1776, gazetted a captain in the Royal Fencible Americans and rendered efficient service in repulsing an attack by the rebels under Col. Jonathan Eddy on Fort Cumberland. In the autumn of 1778 he was ordered to the mouth of the St. John river, where he built Fort Howe and remained in charge of the garrison as major of brigade until the arrival of the Loyalists. He was actively employed in assigning lands to the different corps as they arrived, his assistant being Lieut. Samuel Denny Street. He was a member of the first council of the province. As a reward for his important services he received a grant of a large tract of land in the parish of Studholm, in Kings County, to which he retired and where he died in 1792.

and one Serv't in company with Mr. Leonard. I am told the Governor is determined that Provincial Officers shall have no lands on this side the Bay, can you give me the reason? And pray let me know whether you think General Ruggles & Pemberton will keep the lands they have got an order of survey for. I suspect the late order from the King will affect them. I have made a purchase of Pemberton and should be glad to be informed how the title stands. I am not yet fairly in quarters but have some of my family and goods about nine miles up the River where we must remain for some time at one Longley's,* give me a call as you come down and I will give you a bottle of old Hock & perhaps a good Mutton chop, in spite of Chesterfield, I must say I am in haste,

Yours sincerely,

I. Allen.

[P. S.] I was desirous not to send the dispatches by express unless I met with no opportunity in the course of a week. It seems there has been one but I was looking for shelter for my Family at that time.

Rev. Jonathan Odell to Edward Winslow.

New York, 8th Novem'r, 1783.

Sir,—I know that to preface a request to you with an apology for making it would on my part be no recommendation—therefore leaving "much ado about nothing" to Benedict and Beatrice, my request is in three words, that you will speak of me in the language of a friendly partiality to General Fox, a hint from whom in my favour to his Brother (I am told by a friend in England) might contribute much to the success of my hopes respecting an appointment as Assistant Secretary to a British Embassador, if such an one is to be sent to this country. My present employment in the same station, under Sir Guy Carleton, is unavoidably to cease in a very short time, unless there should be for once an instance, rarely met with, of "detur dignissimo," in which case I dare say you will think with me that Sir Guy would himself be the Person whom, was he to accept the trust, I should have to sollicit for a continuance of that favour which has so seasonably come to my relief at the close of a seven years idle expectation, during the Command of his Predecessors. If you remain in Nova Scotia for the winter, I may have the pleasure to see you there—but wherever your lot may be, I shall "at all times and in all places," with your good leave, claim the honour of being

Your affectionate friend
& humble servant,

Jon'n Odell.

*This was the ancestor of Hon. J. W. Longley, the present attorney general of Nova Scotia.

Capt. Callbeck* to Edward Winslow.

Island St. John, Charlotte Town,

21st. Nov'r, 1783.

My dear Winslow,—Forgive me for not having wrote you ere this. I should make many apologies for not having done so if your transition had been announced by yourself. Your arrival at the delectable Halifax came to me by hear say and until lately, tho' frequently enquired after, it remained a matter of uncertainty to me—A Winslow was there but I could not ascertain whether it was my friend. To congratulate you on your arrival would be in my opinion a very chilly and unmeaning compliment, the Country you have left is in every respect (but as to Loyalty) a Paradise in comparison, the less is said on these very trying occasions the better. If you should range towards this spot next year, believe me no one will be happier to see you, and if anything can be procured for you here inform me and your commission shall be attended with the sincerest pleasure. Mrs. Callbeck is well, offers her best compliments. I am with sincerity—

Ever your faithful & affect.

Phill's Callbeck.

General Haldimand to Governor Parr.

Quebec, 27 Nov., 1783.

Sir,—Mercure,† the Acadian who came lately into this province as a guide to Mr. Bliss, having informed me that many of his countrymen wished to emigrate into this Province for the sake of enjoying their religion with more liberty, and less difficulty in procuring priests, I have thought proper to communicate the idea to your Excellency that in case you should approve of the measure we should mutually assist in taking steps to carry it into execution. My plan is to grant them lands at the Great Falls on the River St. Johns, which in time may form settlements to extend almost to the River St. Lawrence, which will contribute much to facilitate the communication so much to be desired between the two Provinces, and which may be attended with circumstances very favourable for their mutual interests. I shall be glad to have your opinion on this subject, and have the honor to be, with great regard,

Your Excellency's most obedient

and most humble servant,

Frederick Haldimand.

*See biographical note under date 23rd Aug., 1783, in this book.

†Louis Mercure was one of the founders of the Madawaska settlement in 1786. During the Revolution he carried dispatches from St. John to Quebec for the governors of Nova Scotia and Canada. He lived at that time at Aukpaque, about six miles above Fredericton.

Sarah Winslow to Benjamin Marston.

Halifax, November 29, 1783.

My Dear Cousin,—This day Mrs. Stanhope and Miss Prince called upon us. Hearing by Mrs. Stanhope that their ship* is to sail for Port Roseway tomorrow, I attended the company that dined here, at dinner and tea; have now left them very chearfully set down to two card tables, and retired to thank you for your affectionate letter of November eighth * * * We are not only comfortably but eligabely situated in a good house upon the Parade, next door to Col. Goold, are all in health glad we are here and Happy. When I wrote you last we were in the house my Brother has for an office, and thankful were we when we first arrived to have so good a place to go to. We immediately took possession of it and remained there untill he very fortunately got this for us, which is as comfortable a one as we at present have any desire for, very warm, pleasantly situated in the most lively clean part of the Town. I leave you to judge whether the rooms are not very good when I tell you that this day week General Fox with sixteen of our Friends dined with us with great convenience.† With truth do I say to you I am not only glad but exceedingly rejoiced that we came here instead of going to Great Britain. The family all enjoy good health and a degree of cheerfulness that we have long been strangers to; have quietly bid adieu to Old and New England—and all endeavouring to add to the felicity of each other, seldome as possible reflect upon past disagreeables, and strive never to anticipate any for the future, but enjoy while we can the blessings still left for us. My good Father has not had one hour ill health since he has been in the place, we keep him generally in spirits—when we do not make a whist table for him he always can amuse himself at picket as our friend Major Murray never spends an evening from us. Every attention is paid us by all here, but we seldome spend days abroad, never when we can with any propriety get excused, for we are always certain that we shall be cheerful at home. our family being a sprightly one at present. Edward is full of his fun and spends every moment that he can possibly get with us. Major Murray and Captain Phillips still more belong to the family, they lodge with him and live with us. Our very worthy friend Murray's intention of going to England at this late season is at times a damp to our spirits.

I am more and more in love with my [brother] Edward. He would be greatly raised in your esteem, my Cousin, could you know the good he really does every moment of his life. So disinterested is he that his whole

*The ship of war Mercury, of which Captain Stanhope was commander. Benjamin Marston describes him as "a very well bred man, master of the whole etiquette of polite ceremony."

†The house in which the elder Edward Winslow resided was the property of Col. Arthur Goold; the rent paid was £15, N. S. currency, per quarter.

time is devoted to the service of others without any other reward than what arises from the happiness of assisting the unfortunate. I was this morning, as I very often am, highly entertained with him and his General. They are in many respects exceedingly alike, very fond of each other and ever good company.

I wish it was convenient for you to be here this winter, we all long to see you. I am sorry not to have any acquaintance with a Lady so high in your esteem as Miss C—. She did us the favour of making us a morning visit. I returned it hoping for the pleasure of seeing her and her mama but the Ladys were not at home.

No dispute have we as yet among the great about precedence or anything else; all goes on smoothly gay, Mr. and Mrs. Parr very agreeable, the Commissioners Ladys we have not yet called upon, are told they are pleasing, Miss D—* not handsome. Balls and assemblys have begun, but I have not attended the two first, am told not again to tell the reason why I did not but to you give the only one that prevented—want of inclination. I love dancing but am no admirer of confusion and dust. Brother went but joyn'd our party at home before the evening was out; believe we were full as well amused by his description as we could have been had we joyn'd the crowd. I propose attending some, but as we are to have them every fortnight beg to be excused attending all.

I am very desirous to know whether my cousin White has arrived at Shelburne, the last letter from him he expected to have been there long before this. God prevent any more misfortunes attending that unhappy family. I enclose a letter for you from my unfortunate cousin Winslow.† Poor unhappy girl; those that ought to befriend her are brutes. As an apology for neglecting her, and their own bad conduct, they have flattered her with impossibilitys. It is utterly out of my Brother's power to obtain land or provision for her while she remains there—my Father says the whole thirds of the Marshfield farm ought to be hers, but I am fearful they will be so base as to deny her any part.

Some time before our furniture was disposed of I wrote my mother requesting that the picture in our Hall with the Coat of Arms that my Sister and myself worked might be given to the care of a young Lady for me, they being very elegant I greatly wished for them for a particular purpose. When my Mother came to New York it was not in her power to bring even them. This week a letter from the Lady informs me, that about two months ago Col. Warren sent a sheriff to her with orders that she must give oath that she had nothing in her possession belonging to our

*Miss Duncan, daughter of Henry Duncan, commissioner of the navy yard.

†Mrs. Pelham Winslow, who was a sister of Capt. Gideon White. See note under letter of Pelham Winslow of May 30, 1778.

family. Not daring to take the oath she gave up the article, and He had impudence enough to tell her that he tooke them for a debt which he did not recollect when he took the other things. I do believe he is the compleatest Devil that ever was suffered to live. That at this late hour he should be contriveing ways to torment his benefactor is a master piece of wickedness—I have done with him never again to mention his name. * * My Brother and the Major have just been in to bid me good night—they say the party in the next room are breaking up, and that it is full time this letter is finished. They are monstrous saucy upon the length of it, think you must have the patience of Job to go through it, but I care not for what they say—they would either of them be glad of as long a one when absent. Ned desires I would tell you he intends to have a road between Port Roseway and Annapolis,* and many other great and wondrous things is he to do, but he talks so loud and so fast I cannot tell any more. Adieu my Cousin; success and happiness attend you wishes your affectionate Cousin.

S. Winslow.

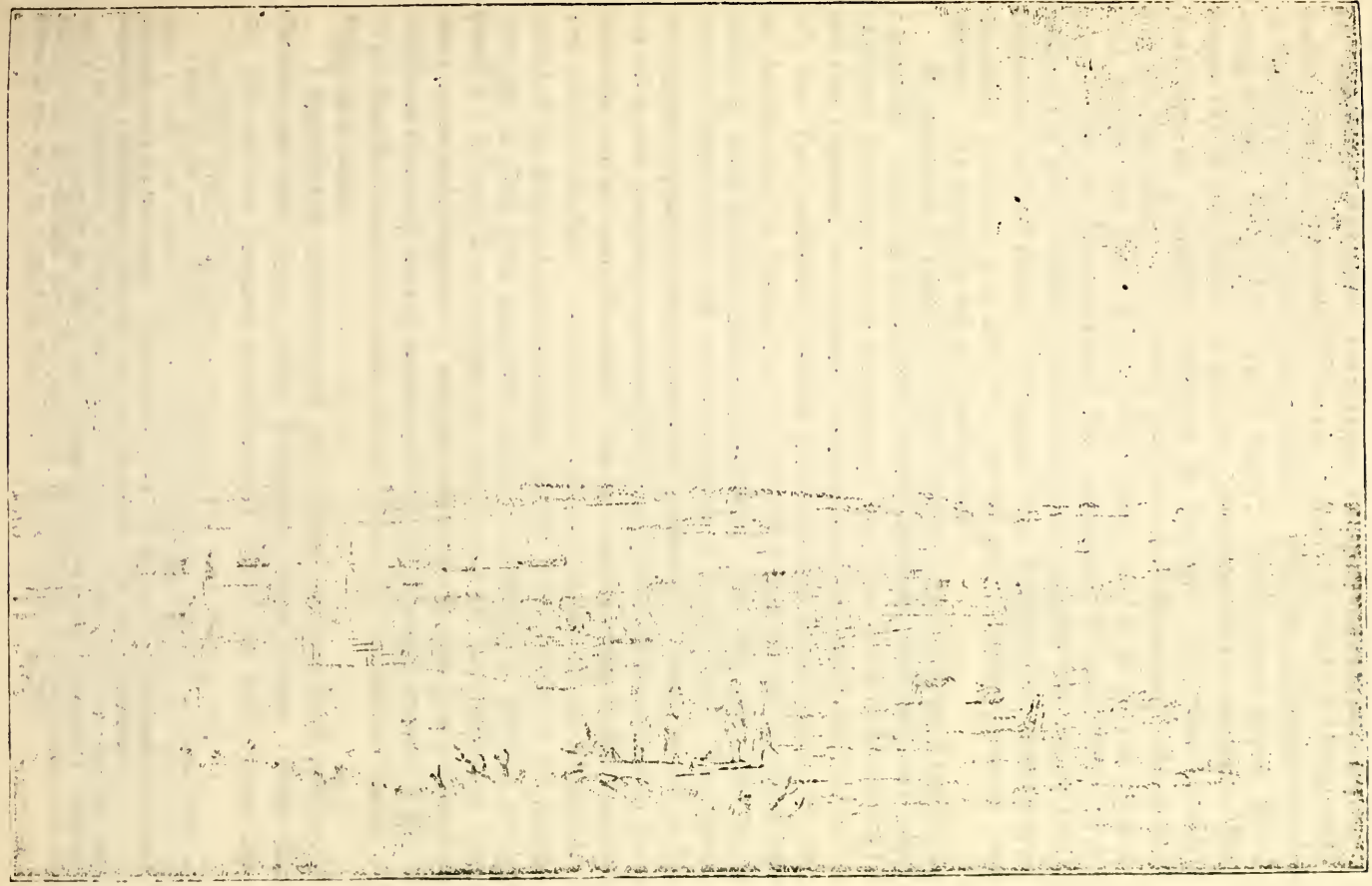
Ward Chipman to Edward Winslow.

On Board the "Tryal" off Staten Island,

Nov'r. 29th, 1783.

My dear Winslow,—I have already written to you previous to the Evacuation of New York, but have received when ashore today at Staten Island your letters of the 9th and 15th inst., for which I thank you very much. I have been a witness to the mortifying scene of giving up the City of New York to the American Troops. About 12 o'clock on Tuesday the 25th inst, all our Troops were paraded on the wide ground before the Provost, where they remained till the Americans about 1 o'clock marched in thro' Queen-Street and Wall-Street to the Broad-way, when they wheeled off to the hay-wharf and embarked immediately and fell down to Staten Island. I walked out and saw the American Troops under General Knox march in, and was one of the last on shore in the City; it really occasioned most painful sensations and I tho't Sir Guy, who was upon parade, looked unusually dejected. The particular account of the business of the day you will find in the news-papers which I have enclosed to Blowers. I have passed two days since in the City to which I returned upon finding all was peace and quiet. A more shabby ungentleman-like looking crew than the new Inhabitants are I never saw, tho' I met with no insult or molestation. The Council for sixty days, which is invested with supreme authority for

*In "Cabotia," a series of maps of British North America published in 1814, a dotted line shows an old road between Shelburne and Annapolis. It is marked "Impassable Track, called Pell's road, cut out in 1784, but now covered with young trees."



View of Halifax, 1783.

that term, is sitting; what will be determined by them is uncertain, many are apprehensive of violent and severe measures against individuals. I paid my respects to Generals Knox and Jackson, the latter is Commandant of the City; they received me very politely. I had the satisfaction also of seeing General Washington, who is really a good looking genteel fellow. Scarce any of our friends or any man of respectability remains at New York, they are principally embarked for England. I am now on board ship for the voyage. We have a good set—Col. Drummond who is very civil, friendly and polite to me; Fred Philips, who is as good a fellow as ever (I wish you had mentioned him particularly in your letter for he really loves you); Gilfillan* whose facetious character you know, a Mr. Sinclair in the civil branch of ordnance, Capt. Reid and two subalterns of the Royal Artillery, 8 in all and I assure you we make ourselves very cheerful. We expect to sail by Tuesday next.

My prospects in going to England are upon the whole as favorable as I expected. I have as I mentioned to you, the whole business of the board of claims† committed to my management, and I am not a little pleased to find that Harrison, who resigned his seat at the board some time before we left New York, obtained a warrant from Com'r in Chief for 20s stg. per day for the time he belonged to it. I think I shall be able to plead this precedent when I have finished the business. Sir Guy has given me a letter of introduction and recommendation to Lord North. Thompson, who means to pass the winter upon the Continent of Europe, writes me he has left a very particular recommendation and introduction for me to Lord Sackville, so that upon the whole I live in hopes of going to Halifax next year with a bold face. I consider the present by far the most important period of my life, and am determined to exert every faculty to get myself forward. I shall most anxiously expect the letter you promise me by Gen'l F. I have been explicit, be you so also in communicating your views, hopes and prospects. I need not repeat to you that your welfare and happiness is equally dear to me as my own; my principal anxiety is for us to get together again with some chosen friends and I think we should be happy in a desert.

I immediately communicated your letters and enclosures relative to Cochran and little Weeks‡ to Mr. Watson and Major Upham. Coffin this day tells me the business is satisfactorily settled for both. Greet Mr.

*He was a deputy quarter master general at New York in 1783.

†This board was appointed by order of Sir Guy Carleton at New York on May 4, 1783. Its business was to investigate claims for supplies furnished of various sorts to the army. The chairman of the board was Gregory Townsend, assistant commissary general, and the secretary was Ward Chipman.

‡The reference seems to be to Rev. Joshua Wingate Weeks. In the year 1783 he was chaplain to the King's Orange Rangers, then stationed at Halifax. Before the Revolution he was rector at Marblehead, Massachusetts. At the close of the war he settled in Nova Scotia, where he died in 1804.

Weeks for me and in my name, he is a worthy good Fellow and I both love and esteem him.

I intreat you my dear Ned let me know by every opportunity how you are and what is going forward in Nova Scotia. I shall not lose sight of that as my determined place of resort and shall of course be very anxious to know all the particulars about the settlements, locations, &c, &c.—

To Tom Coffin—indisputably the very best fellow in the world, and to Townsend* who really loves you and speaks most affectionately of you I refer for all further particulars both of a public and private nature. Adieu my dear Fellow you shall hear from me the moment I arrive in England. God bless you with all good and make you as happy as you desire and deserve, prays most fervently and sincerely, your unalterably devoted & faithful friend,

Chip.

To Father, Mother and Sisters, say that Chip thinks, dreams and speaks of them perpetually with the warmest friendship and affection.

Jonathan Odell to Edward Winslow.

"Ceres"—off Staten Island, 3d Dec'r, 1783.

My dear Sir,—Our evacuation of New York took place on the 25th ultimo without any appearance of disorder, and the town, we hear, continues in quiet under the American military. The season being so far advanced, I have postponed my intended voiage to Nova Scotia till next Spring, and am going to pass the winter in England. The Commander in Chief having done me the honor to invite me to a passage with him makes this voiage the more agreeable. If I can render you any service on the other side of the water, be so good as to command me without reserve.

Two musters pay, as Chaplain of the King's American Dragoons, I understand have been received for me either by you or Major Murray. The balance due to me, whatever it may be, will be very welcome in England. You, or the Major,, will therefore greatly add to past obligations if you favor me with an order or Bill for the money, payable in London, which I hope to receive by the month of March next. Direct for me at Mr. Kempe's, No. 116, Jermyn Street, St. James's.

Wishing you all possible happiness in your present and future prospects, I am, Dear Sir,

Most sincerely yours,

J. Odell.

*Gregory Townsend of Boston was assistant commissary general at New York and president of the board of claims. At the peace in 1783 he went to Halifax. He died there in 1798, and James Putnam and E. B. Brenton were executors to his estate.

Sir Wm. Pepperrell to Edward Winslow.

Wimople Street, Dec'r. 4th, 1783.

Dear Sir,—The Packet sails so much sooner than was expected that I have only a minute just to acknowledge the receipt of your obliging letter of the 24th of Octo'r last, with your good Father's memorial, which I lost no time in delivering to one of the Secretaries to the Commissioners for his perusal and approbation. I have not yet been able to see Mr. Forster since he read it, but I should have heard from them before this, if it had not been properly drawn; I shall see him in a day or two when I will do myself the pleasure of writing you again. I imagine that you know already that the lodging the memorial in the Commissioners office will answer no other purpose than just to save the time limited by Act of Parliament, for their receiving claims, and that they cannot enter upon an enquiry in any one's claim till the claimant personally appears before them. My time forbids my enlarging at present farther than to beg that you and your family will ever command my best services, and to assure you I am with real esteem and respect, Dear Sir,

Your faithful friend and most obed't serv't,

W. Pepperrell.

Do remember me to Col. Fanning, Blowers and all other friends. Please to send any letters, papers, &c., for me under cover of Evan Nynan, Esq., under Secretary of State for the Home Department.

Lt. Col. Gabriel DeVeber* to Edward Winslow.

St. Johns ye 14th Dec'r 1783.

Sir,—Some time ago a Letter was given me directed to Lt. Col. Hulett or Officer Command'g the British American Corps on the River St. Johns wrote by Gen'l Fox's Brigade Major. As Col. Hulett was not present I was induced to open the Letter, wherein I found an order for Com'g officers of Corps to make returns for 165 days Bate & Forrage money, it having been granted by His Exc'y the Com'r in Chief, also another return of Officers with the Rank &c, &c. I immediately transmitted these orders to such officers as were here.

I expect myself to come to Halifax, when I shall do myself the honor to wait on the General, mean time hope you'll have the Goodness to men-

*Gabriel DeVeber of New York saw much military service in the Revolutionary war. He was commissioned as major in the West Jersey Volunteers, March 19, 1778. The next year he was in the Chasseurs and in April, 1780, in DeLancey's third battalion. In 1782 he was promoted lieutenant colonel in the Prince of Wales American Regiment. He was second in command of the troops that came to New Brunswick in 1783 to be disbanded. He was a grantee at St. John, but settled in Sunbury County, where he was sheriff in 1792 and colonel of militia.

tion to him the receipt of the above Letter & what I have done in consequence thereof.

I am still here, where I have built a small House, for the present. I have not been up the River yet, indeed the block No. 11. which our Regiment has drawn* is so far up that am totally discouraged. The Numerous family I have demands some Attention to the Education of Children; at such a distance they never can hope for any, and I should think myself highly Culpable, were I not to endeavor to settle nearer to the Metropolis, or some place where I can attend to this necessary duty, I shall therefore leave no Stone Unturned in Sollicitting my friends to procure me if possible some Lands nearer Hallifax. Pass McQuady† am told would be an Elligible situation; if through your Interest I Could be indulged to have a grant there sh'd think myself very happy, or any other place you thought would answer. Excuse the Liberty I take; your wish to serve with your very kind expressions to me and mine, have in some degree emboldened me to take this Liberty, and to think you'll serve me if in your power, and you may rely that I shall ever retain a due Sense of any favours or indulgences you may procure me. God knows my Losses have been great & my endeavors to forward the Service, with my exertions as an Officer, are in some measure known to you, and my Zeal and attachment to Government, is I hope Generally known, therefore, when these are Considered I make no doubt they will induce you to do all you can to Serve me.

I have ye honor to be Sr.

Your most humble & most obedient servant,

Gab. DeVever, Lt. Col. Pr. Wales Am. Regt.

Edward Winslow to Ward Chipman.

Halifax 19th Dec'r. 1783.

My dearest Fellow—I have just embraced our valuable Friends Townsend, Brinley & Coffin,‡—You know how a man ought to feel on such important public business with credit to yourself—and if possible to

*Some twelve corps of Loyalists settled on the River St. John, where blocks of land were laid out for them and assigned to them by lot. The corps settled on the west side of the river (in order ascending the stream) were the New Jersey Volunteers, in Kingsclear; the King's American Dragoons, in Prince William; the King's American Regiment from the Pokiok to the Eel river; and DeLancey's 1st and 2nd battalions in Woodstock parish. Those on the east side of the river were the Maryland Loyalists, in the parish of St. Mary's; the 42nd regiment on the Nashwaak; the Prince of Wales American Regiment in the parish of Douglas; the New York Volunteers, just below the Keswick; the Royal Guides and Pioneers, just above the Keswick; the Queen's Rangers in Queensbury, and the Pennsylvania Loyalists and Arnold's American Legion in Southampton and Northampton parishes.

†Passamaquoddy.

‡These gentlemen had just arrived in Halifax from New York, where they had lingered until its evacuation by Sir Guy Carleton. Gregory Townsend has

occasions. We are now making regular arrangements for the Winter's amusement—Whist Club—Saturday's Club,—&c, &c, &c. . I refer you to Murray & Philips for all circumstances of that nature while I proceed to a more serious subject.

I have wrote you in my Letters to New York how perfectly satisfied I have been during my residence in this place—all attempts to describe the attention & kindness of General Fox would be vain. When I exert my talents I sometimes can collect a number of strong expressions and make a sentence tolerably emphatical, but by Heaven on this subject I am literally as the sailors say all aback.

You—Ward Chipman, never engaged with more warmth of affection to relieve me from distress than He has done. You never exerted yourself with more affectionate zeal to render services to all my friends, than he has discovered. And you were never more apparently & sincerely gratify'd at any event that increased my consequence or afforded me satisfaction than General Fox, has been. You must of course—as you know my heart and that it is certainly a grateful one—be able to judge what are my sensations at parting with him.

I am really most keenly distress'd—but I must tell you that I have made him particularly acquainted with the cordial friendship that has subsisted between us. I have told him, what is true, that I am more anxious for your success & welfare than I am for my own, and I have entreated him to become acquainted with you immediately on his arrival in England, to make the same confidential friend of you as he has of me. He means to solicit a Government & if a separation takes place & a new government is formed at St. John's† he will prefer it to any other. In effecting this he will have occasion for the exertion of all your talents—he is perfectly competent to give the necessary information on the subject, and is in possession of maps, papers, &c, but it will be necessary for you to digest the business. His own private affairs are also much deranged by the death of Mr. Powell, and he will have occasion for your advice & assistance. He has asked me particularly to request it,—and I have most solemnly assured him that you will attend him as soon as he arrives and that he will be spared the trouble of an explanation to you. I have added —that your spirit is too independent to admit of any offers of reward for such services. I've told him that your object in England is to close some

already been mentioned in these notes and Thomas A. Coffin will be referred to later.

George Brinley was formerly a Boston merchant. Towards the end of the war he was a deputy commissary, and on the death of Gregory Townsend, in 1798, appears to have been appointed commissary general of His Majesty's forces in British North America. He died at Halifax in 1809.

†Meaning a new province on the River St. John.

important public business with credit to yourself — and if possible to obtain some Law employment. I have communicated the principal part of my conversation on this subject, I need not dictate a line of conduct to you. At all events I was determined you should be acquainted. I know what consequences must follow. In the hum of his Departure I cannot write much.

I inclose you a Memorial for Land. I refer you to the General for all particulars respecting the business, he'll describe the scandalous impediments and shameful delays of the public officers here. If you do not exert yourselves in England to effect some material change in the Government here, I mean the officers of it, the Country will never be settled to all eternity. If you see Col. Innes relate to him the difficulties attending an application, assure him that I have not been inattentive to the orders of Gen'l Abercrombie & himself, & that I shall presevere until I effect the business.

I have an infinite variety of things to say to you, but in the present state of mind I can add nothing more. I will write a folio by the next conveyance.

Adieu,
Everlastingly
Yours

Ed. Winslow.

I inclose you a number of very rough minutes respecting our new country. I cannot write to Philips. I will next time.

Bernard Graham to Edward Winslow.

Halifax 5th January, 1784.

Sir,—I hope you will pardon the great liberty in writing you and giving so much trouble about so small a matter as my provisions in the late Royal Fencible American Regiment; and as I know your honor has greater affairs to attend, yet I am really distressed & I am well informed the distressed always find relief from your goodness.

I have served the King since the year 1756 in the 45th Regiment, Shirley's, and in the Royal Fencible Americans. I was at the Seige of Louisburg, the taking of Newfoundland and at the siege of Fort Cumberland. I am now an old man, and a taylor by trade, but my eyesight begins to fail me—however I can work a little at my trade & as I have an acquaintance with Mr. Bacon above Fort Sackville I mean to go there and spend the winter. And my request is, honor'd Sir, that you will be pleased to order me to receive my six month's provisions at one draught, or monthly should it seem best to your honor, as if I receive it weekly I cannot go to the country and come in once a week.

I hope when your honor looks at my gray hairs and my long services

you will not be afraid I will sell my provisions or make a bad use of them, as my experience in life tells me other ways. Your honor's granting my request will essentially oblige an old man, who while he lives will pray for your honor.

I am Sir, Your honor's most obedient,
very humble and obliged servant,
Bernard Graham, late Soldier R. F. A.

Lieut. Col. Isaac Allen to Edward Winslow.

Wilmot, January 6th, 1784.

Dear Winslow,—The bearer Capt. Beeler will deliver your letter, which has been long wrote in answer to your's respecting your Father's Grant. Col. Delancey was to have taken the letter, but he has disappointed me, and I have been confined by a violent pain in my back in addition to my other complaints & misfortunes.

I can make no further discovery as yet respecting the land. Mr. Robertson made two mistakes in receiving the Bate & forage. Mr. Cornelius Thompson, who was struck out of the Return, came with the Battalion and is now at St. John's, and poor old Jenkins,* who is there with a wife and three children and commands the Major's Company, should have had the Company money. Suppose I was to send a new return including Thompson & giving Jenkins that money, could the mistake be rectified?

Capt. Beeler was of the Militia in Georgia, a Loyal active man, you will be convinced I answer'd your former letter pretty soon, as the one I now enclose you has all the marks of antiquity about it.

Yours &c.

I. Allen.

Edward Winslow to Ward Chipman.

Halifax 7th January, 1784.

I am now my dear fellow in a snug room by a good fire and determined not to be interrupted. It is the first time I have been able to make such a declaration for several months past. The variety of business which

*The reference is to Lieutenant John Jenkins, who received his commission in the 3rd Battalion of the New Jersey Volunteers, February 10, 1777. He was at one time adjutant of the corps. He served gallantly throughout the war, and at the peace of 1783 settled on his farm in Kingsclear, York county. He was afterwards an officer in the King's New Brunswick Regiment, and in 1793 commanded the post established at Presq'Isle, on the St. John river. His son was Capt. John Jenkins, who greatly distinguished himself in the war of 1812. He married a daughter of Col. Edward Winslow, and we shall learn more of him in the pages following.

I have been obliged to perform has embarrassed my mind, changed my pleasureable pursuits, and almost forced me to forget my Friends. * *

When I was called to my present employment I was surrounded by a set of the most unfortunate men that ever Heaven permitted to assemble. Chagrin & Despondency predominated. An uncommon flow of spirits—a kind of dependence on Providence (or something else) supported me, and that Faith—(for Faith I know not what else to call it) made me anticipate events which should extricate me from my difficulties. You know the state of my finances when I left you and you will of course acknowledge that my confidence in Heaven was put to a severe test. When I received your information of my appointment with General Fox * * * I formed a resolution not to be diverted from my duty by any temptations and this I religiously kept. On a nearer scrutiny of the character of the man with whom I was serving I was not only confirmed in my first opinion that his conduct would be dictated by an independent spirit and the most honorable principles, but I perceived that all his decisions were the result of strong sense and sound reasoning and that they were unalterable. I also found that his benevolence extended to all orders of persons. These grand traits being discovered a scope was given for the indulgence of my own ambition. The boldness of the measures arising from the conscious rectitude of his intentions rendered it perfectly safe to give him an opinion, because (if right) it was sure of prompt execution and the darting penetration which he possesses secured him against dangers from errors which the rashness of my judgment might in some instances have exposed him to because he always saw and corrected them.

I shall pay myself the highest possible compliment when I say that a similitude of sentiments on almost every important subject produced an implicit confidence, and we literally were jointly and constantly employed in detecting the frauds of villains, long accustomed to cheat the public, and in relieving the distresses of miserable & meritorious objects. You who know my heart better than any man on earth can best imagine the degree of satisfaction I must have experienced from such a connection. I forgot all my private distresses, the mortifications which I experienced all vanished. They were succeeded by a kind of enthusiasm such as one feels in the midst of military triumph only more rational. God knows that I have no mercenary ideas, I therefore did not look for any pecuniary benefits. The approbation of the General and my own conscience were the only rewards I wanted, but I had in addition the blessings of the unfortunate. * * *

I am preparing for a tour to Annapolis & am manoeuvring for Tom Coffin to go with me. I have been too long from my family, but I could

not help it. They are in the enjoyment of more comforts than ever they possessed, and the mind of your friend Mary is relieved from all its distress. The General and Williamson* will be able to give you a particular account of my habitation & domestic arrangements, to them and to Philips and Murray I refer you. * * *

The old folks are delighted with Halifax, they receive every civility and attention—the Girls have a larger circle of their friends than they have been accustomed to since they left their home, they all remember you most gratefully and affectionately.

I am very anxious to hear what will probably be the fate of my Father's application in England. With advocates so powerful as General Fox, Mr. Watson and the rest of you, I think he must succeed.

When you see Judge Sewell tell him how sincerely and cordially I esteem him—don't let him find fault with me for dropping a correspondence which afforded me infinite pleasure—explain to him my situation my embarrassments & perplexities and swear for me (if you dare) that I will commence my operations anew in that way. Remember me most kindly to Mrs. Sewell, she has not forgot me. If you ever see Bob Hallowell and his family say every affectionate thing for me. I received a letter from Commissioner [Benjamin] Hallowell respecting a tract in this country. Tell him how impossible it is to effect any business under the present system but that I will do my best. Assure Col. Innes that I will be attentive to his matters. I have had great pleasure in rendering some services to the officers and men of his corps† since their arrival here and I shall be always gratified at every opportunity of evincing how sincerely I respect him.

I flatter myself that before you receive this you will be on terms of intimacy with my General; cultivate that acquaintance with all possible assiduity. Strike out something for yourself under his patronage and you'll never repent it, and then we'll be sure of being together which is one of the first wishes of my heart. Let me hear from you Chippy by every opportunity. I have positively wrote myself blind. Tomorrow evening I shall devote to my other friends.

* * * May God's best blessings cover you all over prays

Your faithful & affectionate

Ned.

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*Colonel George Williamson of the army was at this time acting in the capacity of brigade major to General Fox. He was an intimate friend of Edward Winslow, and we shall hear more of him hereafter.

†Lieut. Col. Innes commanded the South Carolina Royalists. They received lands at Country Harbor, in Guysborough County, N. S., where they were disbanded in 1783.

Governor Parr to General Haldimand.

Nova Scotia, Halifax, 14 Jan. 1784.

Sir,—I have the honor of your Excellency's letter of the 26th November by Mercure, and lament exceedingly that the Dispatches brought by the "Greyhound" were not immediately forwarded from hence by land. They were sent the moment the commanding officer of His Majesty's ships on this station gave it as his opinion that it was too late for her to proceed [to Quebec].

I am happy to find that you persevere in your Idea of opening the Road from Kamouraska; our part of that business is entirely by water. Some honest men have already been recommended to me to be settled at the several post houses. I have submitted the whole [proposition] to Major Studholme's judgment, from his being more immediately upon the spot and being better acquainted with the proper stages for Post Houses, &c, than I possibly can be.

I have made Mercure very happy by giving him the Island* he so much wished for; it gives me pleasure to have it in my power to assist men of merit, and those who behaved well during the late Rebellion, but particularly those recommended by your Excellency. The number of Loyalists who have lately arrived in this Province from New York and other parts of the continent is very considerable. They amount to about 30,000 souls. * * * I have the honor to be with great esteem

Your most obedient
and most humble servant,

J. Parr.

[Endorsed:—"From His Excellency Governor Parr at Halifax of the 14th of Jan'y—Rec'd 24th February by Mercure."]

Edward Winslow to Ward Chipman.

Jan'y 20, 1784.

My dear Chip,—Since I finished my 12th page† I have seen a letter from Col. Fanning to Chief Justice Smith wherein he points out the necessity of appointing such an officer as Receiver General of Quit-Rents in this Country. One of his arguments is that the proprietors of large grants would if regularly called on be obliged to pay the quit rents due or re-

*Bagweet Island, one of the Keswick group.

†The length of the original letter cannot always be judged by the portion that is copied in this book. The marks * * * or - - - that occur in these pages indicate the omission of passages, so that the length of the original letter is frequently greater than might be imagined. The reasons for omiting parts of letters here and there have been already stated. See explanatory note after the Introduction in this book.

linquish their title. If the rents are paid government is benefited by the money—if the land is forfeited by non-payment it may be regranted and will accommodate good subjects. * * * It is an office so exactly calculated for me that I long for it—it would give me such an opportunity of revenging myself on the nabobs of this country for their infamous opposition to the whole corps, that I should triumph in a faithful execution of my duty. * * *

Mongan* will show you a production of Mr. Aplin's.† Do Chip be industrious about the business of Nova Scotia; collect & exert all your talents—effect a removal of the present Governor & procure other alterations. Write 'em down. You will have all the materials and you'll get much information from Mongan. Whatever I have written upon that subject is intended for the information of all my friends. I therefore don't write to Upham or any of 'em—get 'em all together—adopt vigorous measures.

Adieu, Eternally yours,

Ed. Winslow.

Benjamin Marston to Edward Winslow.

Shelburne, Feb'y, 6, 1784.

Dear Ned,—The Bearer of this is my Friend John Miller. You have already some personal knowledge of each other. He wishes to be

*The Rev. Charles Mongan is here referred to. He was chaplain in the 3rd Battalion of the 60th (or Royal American) regiment. He went to England at the peace. In 1785 he was chaplain to the lord lieutenant of Ireland.

†Joseph Aplin was a Loyalist who played quite a prominent part in the agitation of the division of the old province of Nova Scotia. Under date March 6, 1784, he wrote a lengthy letter to Chief Justice Smith, an abstract of which appears in the Canadian Archives for 1894, pp. 414, 415. In it he says that policy should have pointed out that the utmost attention should have been paid to the loyal adventurers. He had found great uneasiness at St. John on account of the people not getting their lands. About 1,500 framed houses and 400 of logs afforded shelter, but the people had no legal right to the ground their houses covered. The greater part of the Loyalists in the town at the mouth of the river never meant to fix themselves there, but to settle on their lands elsewhere and apply their money to building farm houses, purchasing live stock, &c. He speaks severely of the motives which had led the Nova Scotia house of assembly to vote £500 to Governor Parr and Chief Justice Finucane in connection with the business of settling the Loyalists. The assembly he asserts had lost the confidence of the new settlers; it had been called for six or seven years and had lasted fifteen. He remarks on the inequality of the representation; also on the mission of Chief Justice Finucane to the River St. John to enquire into grievances. Finucane's character is described by Aplin in unfavorable terms. The people at St. John had been betrayed into stronger symptoms of discontent than prudence would justify, but were grateful for what Sir Guy Carleton had done for them.

In 1790 Joseph Aplin was appointed attorney general of Prince Edward Island, a position from which he was compelled to retire in 1798 in consequence of a quarrel with Lt. Gov. Fanning and his council. See Canadian Archives for 1895 under P. E. I., pp. 74-77. See also under date 27th Oct., 1800, in this book.

better acquainted with you and I have given him this to be a means of bringing you together. The Common nonsense of these occasions I shall not use with you. I will only say "that should ye get better acquainted I think ye'll not dislike each other," and I think that is saying a good thing of you both.

For myself, I am in as perfect good health as a reasonable mortal can wish for. But almost dinn'd to death for Town lots & Water lots, for 50 acre and 500 Acre Lots. My head is so full of Triangles, Squares, Parallelograms, Trapezias, & Rhomboidses that the corners do sometimes almost put my eyes out. However I thank God that they are there. Had it not been for them I should have by this time starved to death, or what is ten times worse have been the burden and pity of my friends.

I hope you and your good family are well. Remember me to them most dutifully and affectionately. Adieu, God bless you is the ardent wish of

Yours,

Marston.

Charles Morris* to Edward Winslow.

Halifax, 6th February, 1784.

Sir,—I have made a return for a Grant to your Hon'd Father, of One Thousand Acres adjoining General Ruggles's to the Westward; it is bounded on the rear of the lotts, Thirty seven, Thirty six, and eight rods on Thirty five, in Wilmot, and extends to the Bay of Fundy; Course North ten degrees West. The grant will in all probability pass before this reaches you. I did advise him to wait until the Land could be fully examined, and that I would send directions to my deputys to do it while you were present, but he declined this and rather chose to have the Grant hurried thro' immediately and take his chance. I hope it will turn out a good Lott. Mr. John Harris, Jun'r, survey'd Gen'l Ruggles' and fixed a bound at the same corner where your Father's begins, being the North Eastern corner of Lott number Thirty seven. If you think it proper, you may call on Him to fix the other Western corner of this Lott and examine it.

I have the Honor to be, Sir,

Your most obed't Humble Servant,

Charles Morris.

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*Hon. Charles Morris, surveyor general of Nova Scotia, a very important man at this period. He was son of the elder Charles Morris, the first surveyor general of Nova Scotia. He was at one time a representative of the old County of Sunbury in the Nova Scotia house of assembly. There is much concerning him in Murdoch's History of Nova Scotia. See also published volume of N. S. Archives, p. 293. He was a most upright and capable official.

Benjamin Hallowell to Edward Winslow.

London, 10th February, 1784.

Dear Sir,—Not having an answer to my Letters which I did myself the pleasure of writing to you on the 30th July and 1st August last, I am afraid by some accident they miscarried. The purport of them was to condole with you on the loss of America by Treachery and base management both at home and abroad, and to congratulate you that there was left an asylum for yourself where you could render services to other unfortunate sufferers—and I thanked you for the attention you were so obliging as to show my son at New York, and acquainted you that the young man has a grateful sense of his own obligations to you. I also acquainted you that Commissioners were appointed by Parliament to examine into the claims of the American sufferers, and then made as I now do, an offer of best services in any manner found to be of use to you. I also informed you that His Majesty in November, 1765, granted to me 20,000 acres of land in Nova Scotia, that it was surveyed to me in the Eastern part of the Province, that Mr. Desbarres the Kings Surveyor, now here, informs me that it is some of the best land in that Country. The conditions of the Grant not being complied with, I have wrote Governor Parr & Governor Wentworth, who have the management respecting the Grants and escheating the lands, where the terms have not been attended to, that I might have further time allowed me to make the settlement. I have wrote to Mr. Buckley Secretary of the Province, who is also Secretary to the Commission lately issued to the two Governors for granting and escheating, requesting his interest in my behalf. Lieut. Gov. Fanning, Mr. Buckley and Mr. Winston have copies of the letter I wrote to Governor Parr, and I have requested of those gentlemen to further my wishes in this business. Col. Williard now here, and Mr. George Leonard at St. John's River have promised me their interest. What may be a proper encouragement for persons to hold lands under me in so desirable a part of the Country as Gedebucta Bay* where the land is so proper for Cultivation, and the shores for carrying on the business of fishing, I cannot pretend to say; therefore I must leave the management of the business to my friends on the spot, and what they may do for me I am confident will be for the best, therefore their acts shall be confirmed by me in the full as if you had my power of Attorney. Mr. Leonard writes me the 12th December from St. John's River that people were applying to him almost every day for land to settle upon, and that he had wrote you in consequence of my mentioning that I had requested your interest in getting further time allowed me for making the settlement and getting the lands settled.

*Chedabucto, in Guysborough County, N. S. See this book under date 27th Feby., 1785.

I am very happy to find that General Fox, who is just arrived in England from America, considers and puts a proper value upon your merits. The General's Brother, who is now forming an administration in which he must be in a high department, will have it in his power to be of the greatest service to the General and his Friends, and if I am rightly informed you are one of the very first upon the General's list. Such a prospect as I think you have, not only makes me but all my family very happy.

The revocation of the Patent appointing a Board of Customs in America having taken place some time in November last, the Commissioners who composed that board in consequence of the confused state of Public Affairs, are not only destitute of what salary is due to them since April last, but have not any farther provision made for them. We are taught to believe that we shall be treated with Liberal hand. The unfortunate people who have come to England and thrown themselves on Government have been dealt to with a very sparing hand, and others who come at this late hour I am sure will not fare better.

I have been confined to my house with a severe fever since the last day of the old year, and not been able to quit my chamber before Monday last, a circumstance that has prevented my being able to see many of our friends lately from New York and Halifax.

Your worthy friend Bobby* continues still at Bristol on account of the cheapness of living, and being amongst a number of friends who use every means in their power to be of service to him, the little money which he has been able with great industry to pick up added to the allowance of £120 a year Government, he is able to rub along. A scheme by one of his friends had it succeeded would have made my brother very happy indeed. The failure of which has sunk to his friend about £12,000 in less than two years, and is still a heavy tax on the proprietors shoulders, owing to the villiney of the head manufacturer, which ruined the whole of the scheme.

Mrs. Hallowell, the Lieut, with the other branches of my family join me in best regards to you. You will also remember me very kindly to your very worthy father and family, and if I can be of any use to him or them here you will please to say they may command me.

I am dear Sir, Your most obedient, faithful &c,

Benjamin Hallowell.

Major Thomas Menzies† to Edward Winslow.

Parr Town, March 2d, 1784.

My dear Sir,—I know not what apology to make for the freedom I

*Robert Hallowell.

†Major Thomas Menzies was in 1777 a major in the 3rd Battalion of DeLancey's Brigade, but in 1781 was transferred to Benedict Arnold's American

am about to offer. I must therefore trust to your goodness for pardon, and beg leave to request you to present the enclosed memorial, and (as I am an utter stranger to the Governor) use your good offices to facilitate its success. Colo. Deveber informs me that he has obtained a grant of a thousand acres at the same place, and we are very desirous of being neighbors.

I drew Block No. 10 for the Corps under my command, which commences 48 miles above St. Annes, so that whatever becomes of me, it would be wildness to think of carrying my family there for the present. Should the prayer of my Memorial meet any hesitation, if you think Col. Small's interest would be of service, I beg you would acquaint him, I have wrote him on the subject, and I am confident he will do anything in his power that way to serve me. I would wish to know the success by the return of the bearer Mr. Peters.

I am acquainted by Colo. Deveber that your charge against those corps for whom you acted as Agent is £10 each, but that having regard to our numbers you have reduced our proportion to five pounds; for my own part I think the charge very moderate, and shall cheerfully endeavour to collect it as soon as possible and remitt it to you or pay it to your order here.

I am with very great esteem, Dear Sir,
Your most obed't Hum'l Serv't.

Thos. Menzies.

P. S. March the 18th, 1784. Since writing the foregoing the mode of the proposed application to the Governor is altered, the occasion of which Colo. DeVeber will acquaint you with.

Yours,

Thos. Menzies.

Ward Chipman to Edward Winslow.

London, March 7th, 1784.

My dear Winslow,—Your letter by Gen'l Fox gave me infinite pleasure; that your situation with him was so pleasant and his friendship so effectually secured are circumstances peculiarly fortunate and agreeable in themselves and I doubt not will hereafter be productive of the most solid advantages. I have attended him almost every day since his arrival and have been of some little service to him in a few trifling instances. The material change in the ministry must have deranged his business and views as much as of all the rest of us. There is not a doubt, he informs me, but there would have been a separate Government at St. John's had Lord

Legion. He settled in the parish of Lancaster, St. John County, N. B., where he died at 1831, at the advanced age of 98 years.

North remained in office, and he candidly confessed he should like to have had the Government. The present administration, even if convinced of the propriety of the measure, dare not adopt it; their continuance in office is so uncertain that they will undertake no business but what turns up in the common routine of office every day. You may easily imagine how disappointed I was upon my arrival to find in what a distracted state this Country was. All my views and prospects in coming to England vanished at once—at least were totally suspended for the present. Sir Guy Carleton went into the Country, my letter to Lord North became of no avail, I could receive no directions with respect to the business of the Board of claims, and I have been waiting here in London till this day expecting a change in the ministry and some permanent administration to be formed to which I may make an application with respect to my business, for I will not yet despair. Should Fox come in again I think you and I might revive our expectations and hopes and yet see the objects we have so much at heart accomplished. Until this happens or some permanent ministry is appointed, we shall not be able to stir to any purpose in the business of a separate government.

Yours of the 7th Jan'y by Mr. Mongan I have received and thank you for it more than I can express, I really began to despair of ever receiving one of those old fashioned long friendly reviving epistles from you which always delight me so much, and am rejoiced that you at last found an hour of relaxation from the severe attention to business in which you have been so deeply involved to gratify me. Indeed after all the bustle of life, however consequential or lucrative our pursuits may be—however ambitious our prospects and whether we are successful or otherwise, one hour snatched from engagements of this kind and devoted to the social enjoyments of friendship and affection is worth them all in point of solid and rational happiness and satisfaction—this I have richly experienced in the pleasure the perusal of your letter has afforded me. The description you give me of your situation under General Fox is gratifying beyond measure, —the satisfaction resulting to yourself, the advantages derived to your friends and your usefulness to the public while with him are surely objects of the first magnitude and attention. You ought not I think to give up the expectations you suggest of a further connection with your friend, altho' the prospect of such an event is at present a little removed, so strange and so sudden are the changes in this life that we are often nearest the completion of our wishes when the objects of them are apparently at the greater distance. Altho' the representations now made with respect to the offices of Government at Halifax may not be so effectual as may be wished, they will doubtless be productive of some good, and you may rest assured that we are here forming a plan of application as soon as the min-

istry is established that will meet your fullest wishes, and if exertion perseverance and opportunity are of any avail to secure its execution, they will not be wanting. The hints and papers with which you have furnished me, have been of great consequence, and I most earnestly request you will not cease the fullest communications on the subject. As soon as anything is done here, or we have any prospect of success, you shall be made informed of every particular.

General Fox desired to have, and I have given him a copy of that part of your letter which relates to the conduct of your Governor and the other officers, he means immediately to show it to Lord Sydney, the present secretary of state for the home department.

I have written to your Father on the subject of his concerns. I do not doubt but Mr. Watson will effect all his wishes, he is seriously and warmly interested in the business and I suppose writes to your father on the subject. I am rejoiced to find he is so comfortably situated for the present; to him, your mother and the girls repeat the assurance of my most affectionate remembrance.

When you sort the cases of Muster Rolls I hope you will take care to check all improper discharges and see that none are borne upon the strength but effectives, and recollect the non-effectives are not to be continued at the second muster. I fancy you will not have the same difficulty in calling the names, various as the colors are of the uniforms, as you had in mustering Baron de Diemar's party colored Hussars.*

I have not yet seen Judge Sewell—in fact I dare not leave Town lest some alteration should take place and I should lose an opportunity of benefiting myself or friends—he is however well, as are the family. I will do you justice to him and swear anything you please to him, Bob. Hallowell and all your Friends.

You ask if the business of the half-pay is settled. I think there can be no doubt of it, tho' it is not yet specifically voted; but let me suggest one thing, if you receive pay as Secretary from Government I am told it will deprive you of your half pay for the same period; and this I believe you will find to be the case.

Thompson† is one of the wonders really of the age. He has made the tour of Europe since last September; by some strange good fortune

*Baron Frederick DeDiemar's Hussars were in 1781 attached to the Queen's Rangers. They seem, judging by the muster rolls, to have included a number of Loyalists, who probably joined the corps as recruits, or were draughted into the troop from other mounted corps, hence the variety of uniforms. The German names doubtless made the roll call a difficult matter for the muster-master.

†See biographical note under date 8th June, 1783, in this book, on Col. Benjamin Thompson. He had been the commander of the late King's American Dragoons, and Ward Chipman had been the paymaster of the corps as well as Col. Ludlow's battalion in DeLancey's brigade.

has been so introduced to the Duke of Bavaria, Elector Palatine, one of the first Courts in Germany, as to be appointed his principal Aid de Camp and Adj't. General; has jumped across to England to get the King's leave to go into foreign service, has obtained it, retaining his rank and pay in the British service, has been knighted as a testimony of the Royal approbation and recommendation, and Sir Benjamin Thompson is now preparing to figure at the Court of Manheim with one of the most splendid equipages in Europe; he sets off in about a month.

I have written so much and so many letters to my other friends that I have not patience to proceed any farther at present. To those letters I must refer you for such particulars as I have omitted in this—particularly to Tom Coffin for the history of my Brother.

Adieu my dearest Fellow—write to me by every opportunity and believe me most sincerely, affectionately & unalterably yours,

Chip.

I am very much gratified that your family at Annapolis are so comfortably situated, and that you have at last found leisure to make a visit there, let me be most particularly and affectionately remembered to Mrs. W. and the little ones.

Ward Chipman to Edward Winslow.

London, 13th March, 1784.

Dear Winslow,—Things begin to wear a much more favorable aspect respecting Nova Scotia. The present ministry begin to find their situation more stable and permanent. Your representations by Mongan have had their effect. A committee of the Council has been sitting on the business two or three days, Sir Guy Carleton has been sent for and is come to Town to give his advice and assistance in the business. Col. Willard, Dr. Seabury,* and Major Upham, as Agents for the Loyalists,—have presented a memorial stating all the grievances complained of. Lord Sydney has said "Nova Scotia shall be made the envy of all the American States."

I am authorized to say, in confidence, there is no doubt a separate Government at St. John's will be established, and that all your wishes will be carried into effect. Odell, who is with Sir Guy, whispers this to me for your information and desires a most friendly and affectionate remembrance to you. I do not think it improbable at all that Gen'l Fox will go out Governor of St. John's. It is in contemplation to have a Governor General over all the British Settlements contiguous,—if so, Sir Guy will be the

*Rev. Samuel Seabury, D. D., is here referred to. On the 14th of November in this year he was consecrated first bishop of the Episcopal church in the United States. During the Revolutionary war he was gazetted as chaplain in the King's American Regiment.

man if he can be prevailed upon to go out. Ponder upon these things and act accordingly. Take care of our Lands, they must now become very valuable.

I was yesterday morning with L'd Sackville; he wished to see your letter respecting Nova Scotia and spoke very handsomely of you. I sent him that part of the letter and the hints of arguments you enclosed by General Fox for the separate Government at St. John's. Upon the whole I think all will go well. Sir Guy is warm for the new Government and his opinion will have very great influence; entre nous I fancy Judge Ludlow will apply for the Chief Justice-ship. He says I had better get the appointment of Attorney Gen'l if I can, &c, &c, but not a word of all this for a thousand reasons. Whatever you may have in contemplation write immediately to all your friends. Write me such another letter as your last it will be of great service to me as well as you. You are held up as a man of the first consequence and intelligence in that country, and I have the honor to be mentioned as your particular and confidential correspondent.

I hope now to get my own matters, I mean the Board of claims business, upon some footing or other. Don't forget my half-pay agencies I beseech you. Adieu once more my dear Fellow and believe me unalterably your affectionate

Chip.

Rev. Chas. Mongan, Chaplain to Late 3d Batt. 60th Regt. to Edward Winslow.

London, 23rd. Mar. 1784.

My dear Sir,—Capt. Cook 37th Regt, just now called upon me to say that he sails for Port Roseway tomorrow morning, and tho' I have nothing absolutely certain to communicate, yet I cannot deny myself the pleasure of assuring you that I bear in constant remembrance the great satisfaction I have experienced in my acquaintance with you and your good family. This Country has been in such a confused state that no business of any kind has been thought of till within these few days—And I have the pleasure now to tell you that the papers &c., which I gave to the ministry (added to Gen. Fox's representations) have been the means of rousing the government towards Nova Scotia, and I have now some foundation for hoping that matters will go on well.

Sir Guy was sent for upon the business, and I find that his opinion upon that subject will be the prevailing one. So far at least things look well. This morning I saw your friend General Fox; he was just then summoned to attend the Council upon the same subject. He was in vast

good spirits about the matter, and I think you will have him with you very soon and in the very situation you wish to see him. The arrangements are not yet formed or rather not divulged. It is supposed by the knowing ones that Sir Guy will go out as Governor General of the three Provinces. The present Ministry seems very anxious about the welfare of that Country. In a conference with L'd Sydney upon that subject, I must acknowledge that his sentiments were very liberal and full of tenderness towards the Loyalists. As nothing is yet absolutely declared certain, I can only give you reports some of which are that Gov. Parr is to be recalled, his successor not named, but Col. F. to be left in the management of affairs for the present. Col. Fox to be Governor of our province, and Sir Guy to superintend the whole. The Council & Assembly (I mean the present) to be thoroughly purged and the outcasts to be succeeded by honest Loyalists. In short my dear Friend I now begin to feel myself convinced that Nova Scotia will yet be the seat of happiness and the residence of honest Fellows.

I hope to see you in June with many others of my friends. I am perfectly tired of England, it is a cursed place at present.

Pray make my best respects to Gen'l Campbell; his things will sail about ten days hence, when I hope to be able to write you with more certainty. In the interim I beg you will remember me with great affection to the good old Folks and give my very sincere love to the girls. I promise myself much pleasure to come in their society. Capt. Cooke is waiting for my letter. God bless you, and believe me,

Very sincerely yours,

Chas. Mongan.

Major John Coffin to Edward Winslow.

Parr Town, 24 March, 1784.

My Dear Ned,—Your letter has this moment come to hand, I have indeed taken all opportunities to abuse you for not answering my letter with respect to your Father's land. Delays are dangerous and I am distressed at thinking that it will prove so in this instance. Some hundreds of applications have been made for it, among the many a Cornet Merrit of the Queen's Rangers.

By the next opportunity I shall write you very fully, in the mean time I must acquaint you that Nase has informed me you have a Nett or Seine, which is lent out to every person and is going to the Devil. I want one and am seriously distressed for it. My circumstances will not admit of my going to the expense of it. If you can spare it I will make a handsome return in salmon for it or will send you the amount when able.

I am in great haste and De Veber is waiting, therefore make my best and most affect'e compliments to your father and the Girls. With my best love to Polly,

I give you joy on the birth of a Daughter.

God Bless you,

Sincerely yours,

Jh. Coffin.

Lt. Col. Stephen De Lancey to Edward Winslow.

Annapolis, 28th March, 1784.

Dear Winslow,— * * * I am unhappy to hear that the Lt. Governor* has given up all Idea of a Settlement with us here. I have written to him on a Subject that will be entirely useless as I suppose he does not purchase Rice's farm. * * *

I have received a most impertinent letter from Capt. Hutchinson.† The case is this: five men of his Company came to this Province with me in the Peggy; for those men he rec'd six months pay at New York, which remained in his hands without any steps taken to remit it to them. I therefore ventured to stop his forage money in my hands for the payment of those men which I have actually paid to them—the money was not sufficient to pay them off. * * *

Every body well at your house. Compliments to Coffin & all friends,

Yours

St. De Lancey.

Col. J. H. Cruger‡ to Edward Winslow.

London, March 28th 1784.

My dear Winslow,—I not only embrace, but thank the opportunity that offers for opening a correspondence with a valuable friend. When you are at leisure be assured you'll make me happy by writing to me, especially if you'll inform me that you are well and doing well. Our friend Mongan gives me pleasing accounts of your situation. I flatter

*Colonel Edmund Fanning.

†Capt. William Hutchinson of the 1st Batt., New Jersey Volunteers, of which Corps. Lt. Col. De Lancey was commander. He came to New Brunswick, but afterwards removed to Upper Canada.

‡Lieut. Colonel John Harris Cruger was a son-in-law of Brig. Gen. Oliver DeLancey. He commanded the first and second battalions of DeLancey's brigade in the campaigns in the south. He was as an officer gallant and fearless, and especially distinguished himself at the siege of Fort "Ninety-six," which he gallantly and successfully defended against the attack of General Greene with a much larger force. A brief biography of him will be found in Sabine's American Loyalists, and many additional particulars of interest in Jones' Loyalist History of New York.

myself it will be better with you all before it's worse. The very ill treatment of the worthy Loyalists hitherto has given me much concern.

This letter will be delivered you by Lieut. Georges of the Navy. Mr. Georges is the son of a particular friend of mine; he is a very worthy young Gentl'n, as such I beg leave to introduce & warmly to recommend him to you & your friends. Every civility and friendship you shall be good enough to shew him, be assured I'll give you full credit for. Mr. Georges is pretty well versed in the politics of this Country; to him I beg to refer you for a more satisfactory account than I can write.

This hugh unwieldy Town swarms with Americans grumbling and discontented; in two or three years it is said, we may know what Government will, or will not, allow us for the loss of property, for services, &c, &c, &c.

Mrs. Cruger desires her best respects to you. I beg to be kindly remembered to Mrs. Winslow and rejoyce in the little holyday you have made in heaven, whose munificence I sincerely pray you may partake very fully of, for I am with the greatest Regard & Esteem, affectionately, My good Sir,

Your friend & humble servt.

J. H. Cruger.

Ward Chipman to Edward Winslow.

London, 13th April, 1784.

My dear Winslow,—I was in hopes before this time to have congratulated you upon the decided arrangement of the new Government of Nova Scotia, an event which I do not however think very far distant. The separation of the Province into two Governments is determined upon in the Cabinet, that of St. John's which is to be called New Ireland,* has been offered to Gen'l Fox. Halifax it is said is to be given to Gen'l Musgrave. A Governor General over these Provinces and Canada with almost unlimited powers, to prevent the necessity of applying for instructions here on all occasions, is to be appointed. This very important appoint-

*The name eventually chosen was not New Ireland, but New Brunswick, in honor of the royal house of Brunswick. In the year 1780 William Knox, a Georgia Loyalist then in England, formed a plan to divide Maine and to give to the territory between the Penobscot and St. Croix rivers the name of New Ireland, and to give the administration thereof to Thomas Oliver as governor, with Daniel Leonard as chief justice. The proposal met with favor on the part of the ministry, but nothing at that time was done. Wm. Knox was afterwards for many years the agent of the province of New Brunswick in England. The proximity on either hand of New England and Nova Scotia (or New Scotland) undoubtedly must have suggested the name of "New Ireland" for our province, and it was evidently seriously contemplated at one time thus to designate the new province. Had such a name been chosen there is reason to believe that the Irish immigration to our shores in the "forties" would have assumed immense proportions.

ment is offered to Sir Guy. Gen'l Fox is this day to give his answer to Lord Sydney: he tells me he means to make his acceptance conditional upon the going out of Sir Guy. I do not myself at all doubt that they will both go: A very pleasant circumstance to me is that Sir Guy, in a very free and confidential conversation with Gen. Fox, mentioned Judge Ludlow, Upham and myself as persons whom he wished to provide for in the Line of the law. The Chief Justiceship is fixed for Ludlow, Upham is to have a seat on the same Bench, nothing specific is proposed for me, but I know of no office that will be worth my acceptance in that line but of Attorney General, and here I fancy I shall have many competitors. I shall however patiently await the event. As to yourself, Gen'l Fox will be amply attentive, he tells me he means to write you a line by this opportunity. These however are all secrets which you must not mention till you hear them from some other Quarter.

One thing of the last consequence I can mention, that it is determined upon not to relax the Navigation Act in favor of America, and there will probably be one or two free ports in the new Government.

Great exertions are making by some of the Refugees here to secure one of the new Governments to Franklyn,* but these will prove abortive. His influence, owing to many causes, is at a very low ebb. My own affairs yet remain in statu quo. I have an application now depending before the Treasury by Sir Guy Carleton's direction, for instructions whether to proceed and compleat the business of the Board of claims. I am promised an answer in a week or ten days and in the mean time intend to steal off to Bristol to see the Judge† [Sewell] and his family, having not yet seen one of them.

Mongan told me you wished to have a table service of the best yellow ware with a blue border, and that you had written to me respecting it. There is nothing of that kind in any of your letters I have. However, from his description of the kind you want, I purchased a service and shipped them on board the Tamerlane, William Miller, directed to you at Halifax—an invoice of them is enclosed. They are the best of the kind.

I have no news to write; the dissolution of Parliament has engaged the whole nation in electioneering. Charles Fox is moving heaven and earth to secure a seat for Westminster, but it is generally tho't he will fail and must come in for some Boro' at last. The new Parliament will give a strong majority to the minister, so that Fox must again exert his abilities in a minority—how unaccountable is the change of popularity: a man a

*William Franklin was a natural son of the celebrated Benjamin Franklin, and was the last royal governor of New Jersey.

†Judge Sewell as early at least as 1769 was judge of the admiralty court of Nova Scotia, although a resident of Boston. The appointment gave him his title of "Judge."

few months ago the idol of the people now one of the most unpopular men in the nation. And the whole Kingdom, strange to tell, engaged on the side of Prerogative. No man more popular now than the King. I send you the News-Papers.

14th April. Col. Fox has this minute given me a letter for you which I suppose explains the present situation of the Nova Scotia arrangements. It will not I hope be long before the business is settled. A part of your letter I find has been tho't too violent particularly that respecting the instructions to the Regiments to settle upon their lands at all events, and to oppose by force any attempts to dispossess them. Col. Fox communicated this to me and desires me to caution you particularly upon this head. Nothing so suddenly alarms Government, now grown very skittish, as the idea of an opposition to the measures of its servants. So sore are they with the event of the late contest, that they instantly connect the idea of rebellion with any such enunciations: Sat. verb. sap.

Tom Coffin will I suppose be on his passage from this place by the time this reaches you, and our friend Townsend on a Matrimonial voyage to New York. To your father, mother & sisters, Blowers and family, to Brinley and all my friends with you make assurances of my particular recollection and friendship—Direct and forward the inclosed letter if you know where: it is about half pay agency.

Adieu, Yours most affectionately, and unalterably,

Chip.

Brig. Gen. H. E. Fox to Edward Winslow.

London, 14th April, 1784.

Dr. Winslow,—In the first place I must talk to you about the last Letters you wrote here: you are too warm, & your idea of the Loyalists and Provincials defending their Lands on the Saint John's River was by some means communicated to Sir Guy Carleton & at first I believe much displeased him. But everything has been set to rights by your Friends with him.

What I told you in my last has happened. Lord Sydney some days ago sent an express to me, being with my Regiment at Stafford, & offered me the Government of the New Province (which by the way is to be called New Ireland) & informed me at the same time the Government General was to be offered to Sir Guy Carleton. My answer was that my own affairs, in which were involved those of my Nephew, were in such a critical situation that I could not decide for a few Days. This was really the case at that time—besides I wished to know what Sir Guy's intentions were, which to this moment I cannot find out. I returned to London yesterday

& this day informed Lord Sidney, after thanking him for his offer, that if Sir Guy went I should be extremely happy to attend him. Lord Sydney then surmised if no Governor General was sent would I accept of it; which I gave in to provided Sir Guy or myself named the Principal Officers, or at least I should have the power of putting the Negation upon any proposed. All this tho' not absolutely promised seemed agreed to. As from the hurry of Election no council will be assembled for some days, I asked Lord Sidney if he had any further commands, as I wished to return to my Regiment which he agreed to, saying he would send an express to me when anything was determined on.

I own, unless Sir Guy Carleton goes out Governor General, I do not see much prospect of its going on well. I think myself they will tempt him to go out, tho' he at present does not seem inclined to it. At any rate if I go Judge Ludlow goes as Chief Justice, that I settled with Lord Sydney this morning, & from conversation I have had with Sir Guy Carleton—Upham, Blowers, & Chipman will be thought of. There is also an out of doors report that if Sir Guy Carleton does not chuse to go, the Government General will be offered to Gen. Vaughn or Christie, in either which case I stay at home. The one I know nothing of, the other I know too well. But this I believe is not true.

In case of this [my acceptance] taking place, I trust to what you promised me when at Halifax of your acceptance of the Secretaryship of the Province which I have accordingly settled with Sir Guy Carleton.

Notwithstanding all this, do not be too sanguine, as there are a thousand things may happen to prevent the intended arrangement taking place, particularly if Sir Guy Carleton does not go out as Governor General. I for one am determined not to go without him, unless everything is so arranged before hand as to have a prospect of success. I had omitted in the beginning to tell you Col. Carleton is thought of as Governor of Quebec, & Musgrave for Halifax as soon as an appointment equal to the present Governor's abilitys can be found for him. If all this takes place I certainly go in good Company.

Billy Bayard has opposed all this & has handed about an intended memorial for all Loyalists to sign requesting Governor Franklin might be appointed Governor; but it met with so little encouragement from them that he dropped it the second day having got only three or four names to it. For Heaven's sake keep the whole of this Letter to yourself, & be not too sanguine or violent untill something is determined upon: I will write to you the moment it is.

If we go out to you I believe I shall commission you to buy me some Hovel at Maugerville for immediate use. There was Perlie's, near Glasier's

house, a little below Peabody's: if he would sell I think would do very well. But nothing of this can be thought of at present.

Yours most sincerely,

[There is no signature, but the letter is endorsed as from Gen. Fox.]

Ward Chipman to Edward Winslow.

April 17th, 1784—London.

My dear Winslow,—I have written to you two days ago by the Tamerlane, Capt. Wilson, in which Vessel your Table Service of Crockery was sent. There is nothing new to communicate since that time, but as Mr. Green is going in another ship I cannot omit scribbling a line. Gen'l Fox is gone out of Town, but is to be sent for by Lord Sydney, as soon as a Cabinet Council shall be held, to receive the terms upon which he will accept the Government of New Ireland, which will probably be in a week or ten days. I find it is doubtful whether there will be any Governor General, unless Sir Guy Carleton will go out—but it seems fixed beyond all doubt that General Fox will be the Governor at St. John's and Judge Ludlow Chief Justice; no other part of the arrangement is yet determined upon.

Gen'l Fox has again and again suggested his hopes that the triumph you must naturally feel upon these new arrangements will not betray you into any unguarded expressions of it at Halifax. It will be of consequence that the least possible irritation should take place on the part of the officers of Government there, and the less is said upon the subject the better, till we find ourselves established in our new Government, and able to defy the attempts of our enemies to injure us. I need not enlarge on this subject I am sure: your friendship will excuse my saying so much. I thought it necessary to put you upon your guard.

Tomorrow I set off for Bristol. I am heartily tired of this country and anxiously wish to take you by the hand in our Land of promise the New Canaan.

Adieu my dear Fellow. Tell all my friends I remember them most affectionately and long to be with them.

Your unalterably devoted

Chip.

P. S. There is a letter from Gen'l Fox for you inclosed in mine on board the Tamerlane.

Major John Coffin to Edward Winslow.

Carleton, Ap'l 20, 1784.

My dear Ned,—I have rec'd your letter by Major Barclay who has been with me three days past, he arrived just in time to see little Hughes

put in the ground. Pray what do you think of my asking to be Clark of the court, or County, and Judge of Probates? * * *. Both offices at present are very ill attended to; Simonds* is Judge of Probates, who holds so many posts and has so much money that he's crazy half his time, and the other is vacant.

Barclay informs me your father is coming here immediatley, you must inform the old gentleman it never was my intention he should come here until the middle of summer. By that time my house will be comfortable and his place† on the River in same order—. No time is to be lost in sending round a power of attorney—to me if you please or any other friend —to take possession immediately as it's daily receiving very great injury; the old Gentleman must also say what must be done to the place and his plans shall be put in execution on as cheap a footing as possible; I am very near to him and will pay him every attention.

I am a little disappointed about the seine‡ and wish much you would endeavor to get one among some of your friends that left [New] York. At this juncture I can not purchase and I shall have no fish this season without one. On enquiry I find the season lasts as long at Annapolis as it does here, and it would be robbing Polly of the advantage of it on that side. I should not have asked for it, but Nase represented that it could not possibly be of any use to you.

* * * When the annual Ships arrive I must beg you will let me hear fully from you what we are to expect. We shall be very uncomfortable if not separated from Halifax. Mr. Finucane§ is very busy attending to the complaints of those rascals—who by G— deserve halters to a man. He is a prejudiced man, or I have formed a wrong opinion— in a few days you will hear of his proceedings. I like his appearance, but his brother should be hanged for his looks. We shall have a keen eye on

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*The County of Sunbury at this time included the greater part of New Brunswick. James Simonds was judge of probate. This gentleman was the pioneer settler at St. John, and his biography is contained in the articles on "Portland Point" in the New Brunswick Magazine for 1898-1899.

†The place here referred to was on the River St. John, near Westfield, where Col. John Coffin himself resided. The removal thither of the elder Edward Winslow was prevented by illness, followed by his death, at Halifax on June 9, 1784. His family then took up their residence at Portland Point.

‡Col. Coffin had written to ask for the use of Winslow's seine, but it was doing such good work for the latter at Annapolis that he could not spare it.

§Chief Justice Finucane had been sent by Governor Parr to the River St. John to investigate a variety of complaints that had been preferred by the lower orders against their agents, and other matters. Elias Hardy, an attorney of much ability, was the champion of the democracy, and as a consequence incurred the wrath of Col. Coffin. The chief justice was accompanied in his tour by his brother, Andrew Finucane.

them & they will be acquainted with our sentiments if he does not walk very upright.

God bless you. I scarcely know what I have wrote, being in great haste. My best love to your good Father & family. Don't forget me.

Yours most affectionately,

Jno. Coffin.*

Chief Justice Finucane's Investigation at Parr Town.

The Honorable Bryan Finucane, Chief Justice of the Province, having arrived from Halifax to enquire into the complaints made by Mr. Hardy in behalf of a number of People. The first business his honor proceeded to enquire into was the complaints against the conduct of those who had the distribution of Town Lotts, twenty nine charges having been exhibited and delivered him in the hand writing of Mr. Dickinson, brother-in-law to Mr. Hardy, and given to Mr. Leonard by his honor—which has since been returned with answer to each charge.

Charges.

List of Persons, supposed to possess Lotts in Parr Town, larger or more in number than their just proportion.—

1. Mr Leonard a large Lott beginning at the point of a Rock, and running east about 600 feet; 100 feet wide on the water, the other side something shorter; on the longest are four Tenants, viz, Thos. Jennings, Mr Smith, Capt. Kingston and Mr Barker.

*John Coffin was a native of Boston and a decided Loyalist. He served as a volunteer at the battle of Bunker Hill. In the early part of 1777 he raised a company of fifty men for the King's Orange Rangers; his commission as captain bears date Jan. 19, 1777. His company was engaged in the action of Fort Montogmery. On July 19, 1778, he exchanged with Capt. John Howard into the New York volunteers, and went with that corps to Georgia the same year. He saw hard fighting at Savannah, Hobkirk's Hill, and at Cross Creek (near Charleston). On various occasions his conduct won the admiration of his superiors. At the battle of Eutaw Springs he was brevet major and greatly distinguished himself. At the close of the war he retired with the rank of major to New Brunswick, and settled on his property at the Nerepis, which he called "Alwyngton Manor." He was active in political life, and represented Kings County in the house of assembly. He was a warm partizan: in 1783 he fought a duel with Col. Campbell; on Feb. 25, 1797, he fought a duel near Fredericton with James Glenie, and on Aug. 13, 1803, he fought a duel near Fort Howe with Capt. Foy, a stepson of Lt. Gov. Carleton. In the year 1797 he attained the rank of colonel in the army, was advanced to that of brigadier general in 1799, major general in 1803, lieutenant general in 1809, and general in 1819. In the war of 1812 he raised the New Brunswick Fencibles, in lieu of the former Fencible regiment, which on Feb. 4, 1811, was incorporated in the line as the 104th regiment. General Coffin took an active part in public matters, such as education, improvement of highways, &c. He was appointed superintendent of the Indian schools established in the province by the "New England Company," so called, for educating and Christianizing the Indians. A pretty full biography of Gen. Coffin is given in Sabine's American Loyalists. A very unreliable one was published by his family. His descendants attained distinction in the army and navy. He died at his home, "Alwyngton Manor," on the Nerepis, in 1838, at the age of 87 years.

2. Mr. Harding one Lott of 100 feet in front on the water and 400 feet deep.

3. Rev. John Sayre one Lott 100 feet in front on the water and 400 feet deep.

4. Mr. Beadle, Surveyor, in front on the water 200 feet and 400 feet deep, with three Tenants, of which one, a Baker, pays 18 Dollars pr. annum ground rent, and another 20 Dollars.

5. Capt. Allison 100 feet on the front and 400 feet deep, also a water Lott with a Tenant a Mr. Jarvis.

6. James Peters a Lott 100 feet on the east side of Water Street, running back 400 feet and fronting on Germain Street. Also 100 feet on the West side of Water Street and extending to the water, one Tenant, Mr. Norroway.

7. Col. Allen a large Lott 100 feet on the east side of Water Street, 400 feet deep, extending to Germain Street. Also 100 feet on the west side of Water street, extending to the water, lately purchased by Mr. Horsfield, two Tenants, Mr. Pamilla and Mr. Beane.

8. Mr. Dibblee 100 feet front on the east side of Water street, 400 feet deep to Germain Street, joining the water, out of which two common Lotts were given to Munson Jarvis and Samuel Jarvis.

9. Col. Tyng one large Lott 100 feet front on the east side of Water street and runs 400 feet and fronts on Germain Street. Also 100 feet on the west side of Water Street extending to the water.

10. A lot of equal dimensions, reserved for Col. Upham now in England, lately transferred to Capt. Camp, before held 5 Lotts for self and two sons, one of which Lotts Mr. Camp sold for 30 Guineas, and part of said Lott given to Mr. Norroway.

11. Mr. Street's Lott 50 feet in front on water, also a Lott on the east side of Water Street 50 feet front and 400 feet deep.

12. Mr. Arnold, Town Clerk, one Lott 50 feet front on Water Street. Also a Lott on the east side of Water Street 50 feet front and 400 feet deep. A Mrs. Hacket bought one half of a Lott 50 feet by 200 of Mr. Arnold for which she paid him fifteen Guineas.

13. Col. De Vebber a Lott 150 feet front on Germain Street and 200 feet deep.

14. Major Murray, now in England, 3 Lotts 50 feet front each and 200 feet deep.

15. Capt. Hallet 6 Lotts for himself and sons.

16. Capt. Jones 4 Lotts fronting on Guilford Street.

17. John Colville 2 Lotts.

18. Charles Loosely 2 Lotts.

19. Thomas Elms 2 Lotts.

20. John Menzies 2 Lotts.
21. Nathaniel Horton 2 Lotts.
22. Bartholomew Crannell 2 Lotts.
23. Thomas Clark a number of Lotts.
24. Capt. Dunbar 2 Lotts.
25. Capt. Campbell 2 Lotts—one at Carleton & 1 at Parr.
26. Elias Wright a number of Lotts.
27. William Wright a number of Lotts.
28. Mr. Lester 2 Lotts.
29. Major Menzies 3 Lotts, 1 purchased for his son and another drawn.

April 23, 1784.

The answer of Mr. Leonard, one of the Directors for distributing the Lotts in the Town of Parr, to several supposed Grievances presented to the Honorable Chief Justice in an anonymous Paper.

No. 1. Mr. Leonard having by a fair and legal draft of Town Lotts drawn No. 58 & 59, (being then but one Lott and the most valuable in the Town), he having a principal direction in settling and forming the town—to avoid the appearance of Partiality—exchanged his Lott for one at the extremity of the Town, 1600 feet deep and 100 feet in front, many of same size being drawn by others. The arrival of more people from New York than was expected induced him with others to reduce their Lotts from time to time as the fleets arrived with Loyalists until he was left with only 100 by 250 feet, fifty feet only being on the water. There are three Tenants on Mr. Leonard's Lott instead of four mentioned in the charge, who are all provided with Lotts in the best and most conspicuous part of the Town and have therefore no cause for complaint. His situation and improvements hath now become the object of envy of a few malicious men. He is however ready to give up his Lott with all the improvements, which cost him 500 guineas, on the following condition, viz., to return him back the sixteenth part of his former Lott, which he became lawfully possessed of—or more, if desired by a sixteenth part of the Gentlemen and others (who have any pretentions to Town Lotts or any bounties of Government) who have been knowing to his exertions in promoting the settlement without a prospect of compensation. These are the simple terms by which he will with cheerfulness resign his lawful right, obtained in a fair and honorable way, and on no other conditions but by an order from the Governor and Council.

2. Mr. Harding one Lott 50 feet by 200, never owned more.

3. Rev'd John Sayre, with two sons in trade, owners of two Lotts only, 50 feet by 200, and a Clergyman his brother [owner of one lot] they having given up the remainder of the 100 by 1600 feet.

4. Mr. Beadle arrived in the first fleet, drew with the first class, 100 by 1600 feet, but has long since given up all except 100 by 200 which is subdivided between Joseph Beadle Esq, Joseph Beadle Jun'r, John & Paul Beadle, who are all present and entitled to Lotts. Has also given permission to a baker (who holds a good lot of his own) through a particular desire to serve the man. There is another man in the House of Mr. Beadle who are all the Tenants mentioned in the charge.

5. Capt. Allison has one Lott 50 feet by 200, with a small spot on the water of 25 feet front, having drawn a Lott 100 by 1600 feet.

6. Mr. Peters has but one Lot, 50 by 200 feet and the water in front, having also drawn a Lot 100 by 1600 feet.

7. Col. Allen drew a Lott 1600 feet deep, afterwards it was reduced to 200 feet, when he had three dwelling houses erected, and now sold to Mr. Horsfield.

8. Mr. Dibble having drawn a Lott 100 by 1600 feet resigned all but 100 by 200 feet which he afterwards divided with a Mr. Campbell, a Merchant, who left this place late in the fall for Europe to bring out a quantity of Goods, reserving also a steep bank oposite to the Lott being of little use.

9. Col. Tyng having no water Lott; the back part of his Lot of little use, being a steep high rock.

10. Col. Upham has no Lot, the one reserved for him became forfeited with many others in November last, one half of which was given to Capt. Camp, 50 feet by 200, who has no other room for a house. He has beside a small piece of land on the bank below the Lott unfit for any use but a store. Capt. Camp sold no lot belonging to himself. The other part of Major Upham's Lott was given to Mr. Norroway who has no other.

11. Mr. Street having drawn a Lott of 100 by 1600 feet has with others given all up to the number of feet mentioned in the first charge.

12. Mr. Arnold having drawn one Lott 50 feet by 200, disposed of one half to accommodate a Friend; the rest of the charge against Mr. Arnold is preposterous to the last degree.

13. Col. De Vebber having drawn only one Lot for himself, one for his son. The other is a present made by Capt. Maxwell to his Family, of which he has informed the Chief Justice.

14. Major Murray drew a lot 100 by 1600 feet all being disposed of [to others] in the month of November last, except 50 feet by 200. Major Murray left this place for England in November after doing everything to promote the settlement by employing a number of men* in clearing the streets at the first formation of the Town.

*The men employed by Major Murray were soldiers of his regiment, the King's American Dragoons.

15. Capt. Hallet one Lot 80 feet by 100, the rest of the Lotts mentioned were for the people present who applyed with him when he drew his own.

16. Capt. Jones drew one Lot for himself and three for three men belonging to his company who are now here and entitled to Lotts.

17. John Colville drew one Lot; also twenty five feet on the water was given to him to build a wharf much wanted by the public, and as an encouragement for others to begin so necessary an undertaking for the preservation of Boats and small craft.

18. Charles Loosely drew one Lott and one was given him in another part of the town for the purpose of its being occupyed for a Tavern, much wanted at that early period, which lot is now considered as the public's and he has no right to dispose of it, only the improvements.

19. Thomas Elms drew one Lott and became possessed of another by the death of Martin Lowick who died in his debt.

20. Capt. Menzies, being Capt. of a Company of Refugees, returned his company to Mr. Leonard for Lotts, who is not able to say concerning the distribution of them at present; believes he has only one Lott reserved for himself.

21. Nathaniel Horton has only one Lott. The other mentioned in the Charge belongs to Mr. Seymour, who left this place this winter after improvements were made on the Lot for the West Indies, is hourly expected with a cargo.

22. Bartholomew Crannell purchased a house and Lott on his arrival to shelter his Family, and afterwards drew one in in his own Name.

23. Thomas Clark, but one Lott entered on the list; what he has purchased Mr. Leonard is unacquainted with. He lives opposite the Chief Justice.

24. Mr. Leonard is unacquainted with the circumstances of Capt. Dunbar's having two Lotts and he being present can answer for himself. only one Lot entered on the list for him.

25. The only Charge founded in Truth, except Mr. Street's, Capt. Campbell having one Lott in Carleton and one at Parr.

26. Elias Wright, drawn one Lott only, what he has purchased, Mr. Leonard is unacquainted with.

27. William Wright, one Lott for himself. He drew thirty eight for his Company, which were justly, as he says, distributed to them.

28. Mr. Lester drew one Lott and purchased another to put a bake House on, that it need not endanger any building near it.

29. Major Menzies one Lott purchased for his son, another drawn for himself.

Tertullus Dickinson to Chief Justice Finucane.

To the Honorable Bryan Finucane Esq'r, Chief Justice of his Majesty's Province of Nova Scotia, &c, &c;—

The memorial of Tertullus Dickinson sheweth:—

That your Memorialist, whose Loyalty & Losses will appear in the certificate enclosed, arrived at Parr Town from New York with his family in November last and applyed to Mr. Leonard, who conducted that business, for a town Lott, which he could not then obtain and was therefore obliged to hire a house for himself & family.

That a lot has been since offered him but in a situation which is not convenient for trade or navigation.

That as he proposes entering into business extensively as a merchant he humbly requests your Honor to grant him a Lott more conveniently situated out of those which he expects will appear to be supernumerary in the hands of the present holders.

And your Memorialist, &c, &c,

Tertullus Dickinson.

George Leonard's remarks on above Memorial.

Mr. Dickinson arrived late in November when all the most valuable Lotts were disposed of except the one offered him, which being centrical & in one of the best streets and but a short distance from the water, No. 78* as appears on the map. The suggestion of being obliged to hire a house is absurd in the memorialist as it is well known the season would not permit him to build one, besides the shortness of the time after he had applyed before he had a Lot appointed him. Many who propose and actually are in trade, whose pretensions are equally good with Mr. Dickinson and who have done everything in their power to promote and facilitate the settlement, do not unjustly expect the priviledges and property of others taken and bestowed on them.

Geo. Leonard.

Parr on the River St. John, April 23d, 1784.

N. B. Mr Dickinson did & said every thing previous to his leaving New York, which was late in November, to counteract the good intentions of Sir Guy Carleton in sending the Loyalists into this province. He reprobated the Idea before the first fleet sailed and continued to discourage every person of his acquaintance untill he left New York himself for this place in a small vessel on a trading voyage only, but finding that money may be obtained here in trade concluded to stay. This is the short history of Mr. Hardy's brother in law, which the Chief Justice has paid a particular attention to in giving him two valuable lots, one on the water in the centre of the town and another a few yards distance.

*Lot No. 78 was on the west side of Germain street, near Queen street.

George Leonard to Edward Winslow.

Parr, April 30th, 1784.

My dear Sir,— * * * The Chief Justice has arrived here for the purpose as he says of enquiring into and redressing grievances. Unfortunately the complaints are greater and the breach wider than before he arrived—which had totally subsided, the malcontents had acknowledged their folly and absurdity in attending to the suggestions of a Mr. Hardy, who has returned here with him and has scarcely left his elbow since he arrived to the exclusion of a number of gentlemen (who had no complaints preferred against them nor they against others) who would have readily advised with him in any matters that concerned the Settlements in this part of the Province. This would have gained him popularity, and would have supported the authority of the place, so necessary at the first forming of a new settlement, and his conduct might have been in this consistent with perfect justice. He has unfortunately lost these advantages, and has thrown the Town into confusion by attending to the illiberal insinuations of that man Hardy. The feelings of the gentlemen are hurt and many of the undeserving people, which are Hardy's connections, are benefited by his partial decisions.

Those who have hitherto had the direction of matters here are in a strange and indelicate way sent for before him, and in the presence of that Man charged in the language and tone of a Bashaw with wrong and partial conduct, without any regular mode of enquiry into it.

The Town Lotts, which are the present subject of dispute, have been divided and subdivided on the arrival of almost every Fleet, to accommodate the Loyalists as they came, who were more numerous than was expected, until the Lotts of those who came first (who had gone to the task and expence in forming the Town) had been reduced to one sixteenth part of their former number of feet—which they had obtained by a fair and legal draft. At last a few of Mr. Hardy's connections arrived, late in the fall, and are now endeavouring to push back those who are justly entitled to their Lotts, and themselves come in on the front of the Town near the water. On the above principle of Mr. Hardy, supported by the Chief Justice, we must on the next emigration from New Gate, or elsewhere, divide and subdivide again and again. I will if I have time to have them copied, enclose you 29 of their charges and answers to each. I will venture to say there is not three gentlemen that approves of the least alteration in the place, but wish that fellow to the D—l and all his party (meaning Hardy).

For God's sake let us have in our new-expected Province a Chief Justice that will not give credit to every idle report from Barbers and Grog shops, as this man has done since he has been here. The enclosed letter

and answer will shew the credulity of the man. His instability also is inconceivable—he condemned the measure of having any part of the Town that lay on the water occupied by Individuals, claiming that it should have been reserved for Public uses, when Wharfs were so necessary for Trade and for the preservation of Boats and small craft. He ordered a Hand Bill to be put up in several parts of the Town prohibiting people from going on with their improvements. He was forewarned of the consequence, he however said he would try the matter, but was by the experiment soon convinced of the impropriety of the measure and ordered them to be recalled. * * *

My dear Sir, why was not that good man Lieut. Governor Fanning requested to go on this important business, if it was thought of such importance by the Governor. The decrees of Colonel Fanning, right or wrong, would have been well received from the great opinion we have of him here.

You will see by the 14th charge the observations on Major Murray's Lott and my answer: notwithstanding which the Chief Justice has given it away as also yours. Murray's is given to a Mr. Melvin,* Secretary to a committee of correspondence that Hardy had here during the time he was at Halifax. He was a Sutler to the army at Kings Bridge, was turned out of the Camp and his Hutt burnt for bad conduct. * * * Poor Murray, who had cleared the Lott had done more in clearing the streets at the first laying out of the Town than all the people in the Town at that time besides. This shews the strength of his prejudices in favor of Hardy and his attention to his recommendations. To a Mr. Dickenson, a brother in law to Hardy, he has given two valuable Lotts—one on the water and another along side of the one that was yours.

How far the Law will condemn me for being so free with the character of the first Magistrate you are the best judge, I should notwithstanding be happy to be called to the proof of what I have related and to many other matters that are equally absurd in him during the time he has been here.

I am &c.,

Geo. Leonard.

Edward Winslow to Ward Chipman.

Halifax, 26 April, 1784.

You are not to start at the appearance of this letter. I feel that it

*The person referred to is probably David Melville, who in the "Royal St. John's Gazette and Nova Scotia Intelligencer," of Sep. 9, 1784, prints an elaborate prospectus headed "Proposals for printing by subscription an accurate history of the settlement of his Majesty's exiled Loyalists on the north side of the Bay of Fundy, formerly called Arcadia, on the River St. John." The prospectus shows David Melville to have been in sympathy with Elias Hardy and his party.

will be a long one. The importance of the subject will justify even circumlocution and prolixity. Writing to you is like having a tete-a-tete with myself. I am not shackled by any vulgar rules, I throw aside all ideas of method and connection and perfectly satisfied that you will find out my meaning I give you the unadorned language of my heart. You know how zealously I have express'd myself on the subject of dividing the province of Nova-Scotia and forming a government on the north west side of the Bay of Fundy. * * *

I have seen, my dear Chipman (in the country which I have formerly described to you), a vast collection of valuable men of different orders,—men, respectable for their conduct, with their families and the little remains of their property—unattended to, and ungoverned. I saw all those Provincial Regiments, (which we have so frequently mustered) landing in this inhospitable climate, in the month of October, without shelter and without knowing where to find a place to reside. The chagrine of the officers was not to me so truly affecting as the poignant grief of the men. Those respectable Serjeants of Robinson's, Ludlow's, Cruger's, Fanning's,* &c., (once hospitable yeomen of the country) were addressing me in a language which almost murdered me as I heard it.

"Sir we have served all the War. Your Honor is witness how faith-"fully. We were promised land, We expected you had obtained it for "us,—We like the country—only let us have a spot of own, and give "us such kind of regulations as will hinder bad men from injuring us.—

Think you Chipman that it could be possible for me to retreat from a scene like this? Or do you think affecting as it was, that it would discourage me from exertions—No! It had a contrary effect—it stimulated me to propose to General Fox (who was also witness to their distress) the plan of forming a separate Government, as the only possible means of effectual relief—and to contribute to that relief was my ambition and my motive.

That matter being settled I shall go on.

You have already received all the arguments (in favor of this plan) which arise from local considerations. Since our first proposal vast numbers of settlers have arrived in that country. Almost all the people who composed the Garrison of Penobscot, are now at Passamaquoddy. The late Fencible Americans, D'er. Paine with a large party; Sam Bliss† with another party—are there, in short the numbers are astonishing. All these

*These corps, viz., the Loyal American Regiment, DeLacey's Brigade, and the King's American Regiment, were composed almost entirely of the Loyalist yeomanry of the old colonies, and included many men of excellent reputation.

†Samuel Bliss was of Concord, Massachusetts, and a brother of Daniel Bliss, who settled in Sunbury Co. He died at St. George, March 5, 1803.

men are waiting with the most eager impatience for some regulations in their favor. All agree that nothing short of a separate Government can effectually serve them. Surely it must happen. It must be for the interest as well as the honor of the British Government, to save from despair so many of its faithful subjects. Consoled with this idea we are determined to expect it. The encouragement given in your letter has revived us beyond all description. For Heaven sake don't suffer us to be disappointed.

It has been a question here, and perhaps may be the subject of enquiry in England—Whether the British West Indies can be supplied with the articles they want from Nova Scotia. I have occasionally, since my arrival here, had much conversation with merchants and other well inform'd Gentlemen on this subject, and I am perfectly satisfied in my own mind, that the Countries of Nova-Scotia and Canada can supply the British West Indies with every article they want. But as an ipse dixit, in a business of this sort cannot be satisfactory, I will endeavor to give some reasons for this opinion.

The articles usually exported from the American Provinces to the West Indies are Lumber, Fish, Horses, & some Provisions.

To form a judgment of the quantity of Lumber which the country produces, consider what has been the last year's consumption in this province. The towns of Shelburne, Digby, and those on St. John's River, and many inferior towns have been built in the course of last Year and they now contain many thousand houses. The materials for building those houses have been supplied without any great assistance from the New Settlers, and the importation from the States has been very inconsiderable, because in most of those places the New Settlers have (injudiciously) refused to traffic with them. It is fair reasoning to say—If such considerable quantities of Lumber could be supplied (on an emergency) by the former inhabitants (who God knows are not remarkable for their industry) Surely it will increase immensely when a multitude of spirited men shall find it an object worth their attention. The fund of timber is literally inexhaustible. Take the plan of the River St. John's, trace it from the Entrance, observe the prodigious branches from it, the vast lakes in the vicinity of it, from whence those streams run. Consider the extent of country between that & Passamaquoddy, and the other way to Pitcoudiac. Realize that the borders of those lakes & rivers are covered with timber of almost every kind, and that the interior country as far as has been explored furnishes timber in the same proportion. Look also at Passamaquoddy Bay and the rivers which empty into that.

Omnipotence cannot effect the creation of more perfect streams for mills than are to be found in all these places, and the transportation of

lumber from the places of sawing to the places of Export is rendered perfectly easy because the currents always sett towards the latter. There was nothing wanting but labourers, to procure almost any quantity of lumber. The late acquisition of inhabitants—obviates that difficulty. The kind of lumber which is used for building, and which is most essential, such as Frames, Joists, Plank, Boards, Clap-Boards, & Shingles will be exported in great abundance from hence—immediately. And so will Hoops, the Birch-hoops it is agreed are as durable and valuable as any in the World. Staves, are the only article about which there is a doubt, & staves I am told may be had in Canada. In my observations on this business you'l recollect that I have confined myself principally to the propose'd new province, and you will take it into consideration that there are many places on the peninsula of Nova-Scotia from which large quantities of lumber have been usually exported, and that the exports from those places will increase in proportion to the increase of inhabitants. Saw-mills are erecting & other improvements making in places where the old Nova-Scotians never trod. A Capt. Taylor, of Stephen Delancey's regiment,* has commenced his operations at St. Mary's Bay, and he now supplies all the people who are settling about that Bay & the Sissiboo river. New Mills are building in the neighborhood of Annapolis and Granville,—& almost in every other considerable town.

I shall say but little on the subject of Fish because it must occur to every man of common sense, that if the New-England Traders could find a profit in sending their vessels to this coast for Fish,—those who inhabit its borders can carry on the business to much greater advantage. The exertions now making are very spirited and I have no doubt that the exports of Fish from Shelburne & the other new places added to the former usual exports from the old ports will be an ample supply for the West-Indies this year.

Horses are reared with more facility in Canada & about St. John's than in any country I ever saw, and they are the best Hacks in the world.

Beef & Pork is produced in great abundance on the peninsula of Nova-Scotia, more than is necessary for the inhabitants. Witness the quantities that were brought to us during the siege of Boston.

I cannot speak or write of that country about the river St. John's without making use of such extravagant expressions as have a tendency to lessen the weight of my testimonies in its favor. I acknowledge myself to be a little romantic, but I will appeal to General Fox & others who have observed it without being so much in raptures, whether they ever beheld a more delightful grass country, better cattle, or better grain, or more abundant crops.

*Captain John Taylor of the first battalion, New Jersey Volunteers.

What then in the name of wonder should hinder us from supplying the West-India Islands with all the articles they want especially as the privilege of doing it is effectually secured to us by the navigation-Act. There has been an idea sported here that there would be either a suspension or a relaxation of that act but this I think can never happen. I cannot imagine on what principle of politics such a measure could be adopted. If the apprehension of inconvenience to the islands from the operation of the act is the argument in favor of relaxing it, it must have been suggested without due consideration. For (if the necessary attention which the new settlers are obliged to give to their private matters during the first Year, prevents any great speculations) the islands can't suffer. The Americans (if advantages result from the traffic) will bring their commodities to our ports sell them to us—or make their vessels British-Bottoms—give a spring to our commerce, and not greatly enhance the price of the articles at the final market. This consideration will hold good with respect to any other article which in future we may not be able to supply. All these circumstances considered it appears to me there can be no danger even of a relaxation of the act. Such an event would greatly check the progress of our settlements.

Let me impress on your mind, my dear fellow, the necessity of the immediate exertion of every friend to this country to effect the new government. You can have no idea of the strange situation which those people on the St. John's side are now in. The difficulties which attend a communication between that country & the present metropolis have been severely experienced this season. The unfortunate Provincial Officers* & others, who have from a concurrence of unaccountable accidents been prevented from the possession of their lands, and have business of other kinds to negotiate with the officers of Government here, have been led into expenses which has deprived them of the small remains of their hard earn'd money, and many of them who have been obliged to make the tour, are reduced to distress from the necessary expences: Some of 'em reside 100 miles from the mouth of St. John's, they have of course (after performing that journey) to pass the Bay of Fundy and to travel by land from Annapolis 130 miles more, and they arrive at a place where expences are enormous, and the worst part of the story is that they have generally returned without effecting their business. They invariably complain of the want of an efficient and regular system of Government—they say,

*The Loyalists were prevented from getting settled on their lands for reasons thus summarised by Col. Robert Morse:—"First, their arriving very "late in the season; second, timely provision not having been made by escheat- "ing and laying out lands; thirdly, a sufficient number of surveyors not having "been employed; but lastly and principally, the want of foresight and wisdom "to make necessary arrangements and steadiness to carry them into execu- "tion."

"their property is insecure & the spirit of enterprize check'd." They also say that there are suggestions of claims in consequence of former assignments of lands, and the people are frighten'd at the idea of fixing a residence on a property which is liable to contest. There are no attempts to remedy these inconveniences—the feeble effort of sending the Chief Justice with a Mr Elias Hardy to enquire into their grievances, can't possibly be attended with any salutary consequences. In short Chip, the relief must be speedy. The clamour is now so great that (altho' not warranted by the information I received) I thought it necessary to send off an express to Coffin & my other friends, to acquaint them of the prospect of a government being established there. Late letters received from men not accustomed to enumerate grievances, are filled with such melancholy anticipations that I could not avoid endeavoring to relieve them.

As I don't care how long my letter is, I'll introduce another argument in favour of dividing this province, which (if not of equal weight with others) is of some consequence. You will I think enter into the spirit of it. A large proportion of the old inhabitants of this country are natives of New-England, or descendants from New Englanders, they, from their situation, never experienced any of the inconveniences which resulted from the violence of political animosity, they remained quiet during all the persecutions in the other provinces—they retained a natural (perhaps laudable) affection for their country. The rebel party were more industrious, and their doctrines and principles were more greedily adopted, than those of the other side, by degrees the Nova-Scotians became firmly persuaded of the justice of their cause. Of this complexion are the public officers, generally. On our side the principal people are men who have served in a military line—irritable from a series of mortifications—scarcely cooled from the ardor of resentment—jealous to an extreme, some of 'em illiberally so. Either of these kinds of men may form useful societies among themselves—but they can't be mixed—separate them, and this very difference of opinion will increase the emulation and contribute to the general good; together—wrangles and contests would be unavoidable.

Lord Sydney's declaration quoted in your letter, "That he will make Nova-Scotia the envy of the American States," has excited a kind of general gratitude, I cannot describe it. Other ministers and Great men have by their patronage of new settlers, relieved individuals from distress, and rendered services to their country, but it is a Godlike task that Lord Sydney has undertaken. Such an event as the present, never happened before—perhaps never will happen again. There are assembled here an immense multitude (not of dissolute vagrants such as commonly make the first efforts to settle new countries,) but gentlemen of education—Farmers, formerly independent—& reputable mechanics, who by the fortune of war

have been deprived of their property. They are as firmly attached to the British constitution as if they never had made a sacrifice. Here they stand with their wives and their children looking up for protection, and requesting such regulations as are necessary to the weal of society. To save these from distress, to soothe and comfort them by extending indulgencies which at the same time are essentially beneficial to the country at large, is truly a noble duty. By Heaven we will be the envy of the American States. The obligation which we—St. John's men feel for the proposal of giving us a government is greatly enhanced by the consideration that the man proposed to be placed at the head is perfectly calculated for the performance of the duty. General Fox is of a character so dignify'd—he is so truly respectable for his services—has discovered such brilliant abilities, such an enterprizing spirit & indefatigable industry, that we anticipate the most important benefits from his exertions. When the people of the neighboring states shall observe our operations—when they see us in the enjoyment of a regular system of Government—protected by the mother country—not sadled with enormous taxes, and compare their state with ours, Will not they envy us? Surely they will. Many of their most respectable Inhabitants will join us immediately. You have abilities my friend of a superior kind, if there are yet obstacles in the way, exert all your talents to remove them. The nobleman whose heart suggested an idea so benevolent, cannot be inaccessible to men of sense. See Lord Sydney, expatiate to him on the importance of the object—convince him by fair reasoning, of the necessity of adopting the plan. I am so confident of your success in the business that I have been enquiring where will probably be the boundaries of our province. I find there are three opinions on this subject. With respect to the western & northern bounds there can be no doubt—the first will be wherever the American line is determined to run—the other will be the Canada line, so that the difference of opinion arises only with respect to the southeastern boundary. Some assert that the peninsula of Nova-Scotia should run nearly in a straight line from the Bay of St. Mary's to Tatamagouche Bay in the Gulf of St. Lawrence—this would throw all the country to the west of Onslow into the new province, & leave all the southern part of the peninsula & the island of Cape Breton in the old province; and this 'tis said would be sufficiently extensive, and will leave them more than an equal proportion of navigable harbors. Others say that the line should strike across the narrow isthmus which runs between the Bays of Verte & Chignecto, & (by including the island of St. John's) sink the expence of that abortion of a government. If the metropolis of the new province is fixed (as I presume it will be) on the river St. John's, the communication from Cumberland & the places in the vicinity of it will be as convenient as the

present communication with Halifax. Others contend that the river Peticoudiac should be the boundary, and that Cumberland & the other places must remain in the old province. One or the other of these three will probably be the line.

I have presum'd that the seat of Government for the new province will be on the river St. John's, because that river must be nearly centrical, and I should think it perfect good policy to establish the metropolis as high up the river as St. Ann's point.* It would have a tendency to extend the settlements & enhance the value of the land above, it would facilitate communication with Canada, which is a grand object. The situation is delightful—exalted above all Freshets and directly opposite to the beautiful River Nashwaagh. The country about it is inconceivably fertile, and the navigation for small vessels not only practicable but convenient. The great town of Maugerville is in its neighborhood, and so perfectly cultivated, even at this time as to afford an immediate supply for your market. A communication with Passamaquoddy over land is easily effected, & the distance not very considerable. All these circumstances render it a very eligible situation. If the towns at the mouth of the river become great the Governor may prevent inconveniences to them by an occasional residence there.

You see how serious I am in my arrangements. Don't dub me an enthusiast—these sentiments are not the effect of giddiness—they do not arise from reveries or a propensity to castle-building—they are the effects of deliberate consideration. They may not be well expressed—if they are intelligible I shall be satisfy'd.

Rely on't Chip—once more, that if the plan suggested takes place—If Sir Guy Carleton comes out Governor General—a separate Government form'd—and some changes take place in this—Nova-Scotia will rise in importance beyond the expectation of the most sanguine of its advocates. Pray will Mr. Watson's election to represent the City† prevent him from making an excursion? I hope not.

It is so painful a task to censure as a Governor a man whom one esteems as a gentleman, that I will transfer the duty of relating the strange absurdities which are committed here, to our friend Coffin—he has had the same opportunity that I have, to make his observations—and he will communicate them with that freedom & impartiality which marks his character.

Are you tired? you have courted this kind of dissertation—make the best of it.

*Edward Winslow's advocacy of this site largely influenced its selection by the governor and council. There can be no doubt of this in the mind of any one who reads the correspondence in this book.

†The reference is to the recent election of Brook Watson as a member of parliament for a London constituency.

Now for a matter of a little consequence to myself. From whence arose the idea that I shall lose my half pay while I am serving as Secretary to Gen. Campbell? Surely it would be extremely unjust to call me from my private pursuits into a scene of expence and complicated labor, without any allowance. My friends have been employed in erecting houses & improving lands—and have been in the uninterrupted enjoyment of their domestic comforts. I have been separated from my family, I have lost a whole year's exertion on my land. I have no house built—or improvement made, but I've been constantly confined to this expensive uncomfortable place. I will not boast that I have been industrious. I leave it to my friends to describe the scene of business in which I've been involved, General Campbell, in consideration, allows me 10s. per day, & it's paid not by warrant, but out of the contingencies of the army. It never can be supposed that a temporary employment like this is what's meant by "holding an employment under Government." If it's so construed I am once more ruined effectually, for except my 10s a day I'll be hanged if I've made a farthing, with all the economy I'm master of I am in debt 70 or 80 guineas. Gen'l Fox will advise you how to manage this matter. It would be too barbarous to deprive me of my half pay.

Well done Sir Benjamin! The next news we hear will probably be that he has mounted a Baloon—taken his flight from Bavaria—and is Chief Engineer to an Aerial Queen. I hope he'll not take a position over the river St. John's, for fear of accidents.

The old Gentleman writes you. You will hear of his late misfortune. I need not say anything to stimulate my friends to afford him their assistance.

I congratulate you Chip upon finding and saving an unfortunate Brother. It is a pleasure that will last you a great while.

I thank Lord Sackville for mentioning my name. I have a great respect for Lord Sackville. I intended doing myself the honor of writing to him—and if I thought it would afford him amusement, I would certainly write.

As I shall write you tomorrow I will make no apology for the conciseness of this, only the ordinary one—hurry of business &c. &c.

If the Devil was at the door among the other memorialists he should not divert my attention from anything that could contribute to your interest or pleasure.

Most cordially &

uncommonly yours,

Ed. Winslow.

Dr. William Paine to Edward Winslow.

Le Tete Island,* Passamaquoddy

April the 26th, 1784.

Dear Winslow,—By this opportunity, I have the Pleasure of informing you, that I have been particularly fortunate in locating my land at Passamaquoddy. The Harbour of L'Etang where it is proposed to build a Town, is decidedly the best in America. It is shelter'd from all winds, and accessible at all seasons of the year. Last Winter was the severest Season ever known in America, yet at this Place I was informed by Mr. Bliss and Grant, (two half pay Officers) who remained here with their Familys, that they never saw any ice in the Harbour. This is an advantage that cannot be estimated. I have reconnoitred the adjacent Country, which at present is an immense Forest, with the greatest care and attention. It exceeds any part of New England that I am acquainted with. After leaving the Sea Coast for two or three Miles, you open a Country free from Stones and covered with very fine Wood. You meet with a great variety of Trees in this Place, but the White, and Yellow Pine, Rock Maple, Black, Yellow, and White Birch, Spruce, Fir, Ash, and Elm, are the principal Trees, that will make Lumber for exportation. Of these we have an inexhaustible Fund. Our situation is equally eligible for carrying on the Fishery; as a convincing proof of this, there is at this time not less than Twenty Sail of Fishermen in this Bay, industriously employed in catching Fish, from New England.

The inclosed Letter from my Friend Mr. Pagan, at St. Andrews, will make you farther acquainted with the Advantages of our Bay.

I am so much engaged, that I cannot at present, be more particular, but expect to hear again from me.

Adieu, and believe me,

Your sincere Friend,

William Paine.†

*This island is now called Calef's or Frye's Island. Its situation was greatly admired by Colonel Robert Morse, who speaks in the warmest terms of the adjoining harbor of L'Etang. It is indeed a fine harbor, though the anticipated town has not yet been built in that locality. The letters that follow in these pages were designed to support the efforts of those who were at this time working for the division of the old province of Nova Scotia and the formation of a new province on the north side of the Bay of Fundy.

†Doctor William Paine of Worcester, Mass., is here referred to. A short biography of him will be found in the Collections of the N. B. Historical Society, vol. 1, p. 273. He was the first clerk of the house of assembly, and was energetic in the promotion of education. As early as 1785 he was a prime mover in the establishment of a provincial academy. He settled at Le Tete (or Calef's) Island, the situation of which he deemed so admirable that he expressed his conviction that it would ultimately become the principal port in British North America. It is said that at a dinner party given by Dr. Paine in Worcester shortly before the Revolution, some of the Whigs refused to drink the King's

Lieut. Col. Fanning to Ward Chipman.

Halifax 27th April, 1784.

Dear Sir,—Hearing from our worthy Friend Col. Winslow that You are in England, and that 'tis suggested a New Government is likely to be formed on the River St. John's, of which you will probably become an Inhabitant, I think it but candid and friendly to inform you, that You may acquaint Br. Gen. Fox, whom I hear is to be appointed Governor of it, that there is a Commerce commencing from thence with the West Indias. That thay have actually loaded six large vessels with inch Boards, White Oak Staves, Hoop poles, &c., for the West Indias. And Several Capital Merchants of this province have lately expressed to me their readiness and Wishes to contract to supply all the West India Islands with Lumber for Twenty Years to come. Much Publick Benefit & National Advantage may be reasonably hoped from an Encrease of such a Communication, if a proper encouragement is given to the Inhabitants of His Majesty's remaining Colonies, and a wise restriction laid on the Commerce from the American States to the Islands. Notwithstanding the immense demand of the New Settlers on the St. John's, the Boards shipped in the above mentioned, was purchased there for thirty, & five and Thirty Shillings a Thousand. Enquire for Mr John Maclellan at the New York Coffee House for further Information on this Subject.

I have only time to request You to present my Compliments to all our Friends with You & to assure You that I am, with much Esteem & Regard,

D'r. Sir, Your most Obed't Servant,

Edm'd. Fanning.

Col. Beverly Robinson to Edward Winslow.

Mortlake (in Surrey) Apr. 29th, 1784.

Dear Sir,—I wrote you the 19th Instant inclosing some Letters & Newspapers for Beverly.* I also wrote you the same day by Mr. Goodall, recommending him to your notice as a friend of mine; he is a Merchant in London & is gone to Canada to settle some matters there & will visit Halifax about Aug't next when he will deliver you my Letter.

I now again take the liberty of troubling you with the inclosed letters

health until John Adams advised them to comply, saying we shall be able to return the compliment. Accordingly, Adams, when asked to propose a toast, gave "the Devil." Doctor Paine was very indignant, but his wife with ready wit turned the laugh on John Adams by saying, "My dear, as the gentleman has been so kind as to drink the health of the King, let us by no means refuse to drink to his friend." After a few years' residence in New Brunswick, Dr. Paine returned to Massachusetts, where he died in 1833, in his 84th year.

*The reference is to his son, Lieut. Col. Beverley Robinson, who was at this time living at Annapolis with his family (in which nine servants were included). His biography is given in Sabine's American Loyalists.

for my boys, and beg you will be so good as to forward them. The large package, marked newspapers, you are welcome to open & peruse if you have none by any other Channel so late. What can I say to you about Politics? I can say nothing but what you will see in the papers, and therefore must refer you to them, and they contain nothing but about Elections. The Election for Westminster has now been warmly contested for 25 days. Lord Hood carrys it hollow, but the Struggle is very hard between Mr. Fox & Sir Cecil Wray: for the first two or three days Fox was ahead, the next 12 or 14 Sir Cecil lead, for a week past Fox got ahead again & was yesterday 41 before the Knight, and most people think he will carry it, mearly by Industry and Good Management; at any rate there will be a Scrutiny demanded let who will be foremost at the close of the poll, & that they tell me will take up six months, and in that case none of the three will sit in Parliament the next Session. The members of the last Opposition have lost their Elections almost everywhere, and it is thought Mr. Pitt will have a great majority. I hope he will not take Lord S[helburn]e into the ministry which has been talked of for some time.

The Affairs of the Loyalists* goes on but slowly; these troublesome Elections have taken up the time & attention of the Commissioners for some time but they are going on again: they seem to take great pains and pay attention to our unhappy situation, but they have a troublesome and difficult task to go thro'. Many very Extraordinary Claims are given in, such as you would be astonished to see. I have not had my hearing yet & don't expect it in less than two months, so many there are before me; but what appears very extra'y to me they will not enter upon Examination of any Claims given by Attorneys, but say every person who makes any demand on Government must apply in person. However they rec'd the claims into their office in order to keep them alive, that they may not be totally excluded according to the Act of Parliament, and the matter of hearing them by the Attorneys will be determined hereafter, which they certainly must do, there are so many claims given in by Attorneys that it would be a very unjust thing to throw them out unless the principal came here. As the matter is like to be so very tedious, the Commiss'rs have recommended, I believe, most that have applyed for a temporary support from £40 to £200 a year, which is the highest they can go. I have been under the necessity of asking for such a support and they have allowed me £200 a year commencing ye 5th of Jan'y last in addition to my half pay, which makes me nearly full pay.

I have the pleasure to tell you we are all hearty and well and join in

*The reference is to the investigation of their claims for compensation for losses incurred in consequence of the war by commissioners appointed for the purpose.

our respects to you, and pray remember us to Gen. Campbell & Captain Addenbough & believe me,

Your sincere friend, &c.,

Bev. Robinson.

[Addressed "Col. Edward Winslow, Secretary to Gen'rl Campbell, Halifax."]

Major Barclay to Edward Winslow.

Wilmot, 30th April, 1784.

My dear Winslow,—I have the pleasure to assure you, your dear Mary and Children are well; on my return home, I waited on her to know if she had any commands, but she had already sent them to Captain Thompson who will deliver them.

The Chief Justice, I fancy, has found most of the complaints at St. John's frivolous, and many groundless. The only one he attends to is the extent of the Water Lots. He by no means pretends to dictate and carries himself much better than I imagined he would. His wish is to reconcile parties; an impossibility, and in the pursuit of which he will displease both.

The death of Mr. Hughes (Sam Hughes) the Evening of our arrival, gave me immediate possession of my office (Collector of Excise at St. John's.) From his papers, no knowledge of the Business of the Office can be obtained. Will you be so good as to make yourself Master of it, by applying at the Office, and send me a detail, as circumstantial as possible. The worthy Col. Goold* will afford you every assistance. I wish my return to this place may not be mentioned untill the Chief† arrives by whom I shall write most particularly. I have made Col. Tyng my deputy untill my return, which totally must depend on a Letter from you. Mary told me the contents of your last letter. Should that wished for event take place, I shall move bag & baggage immediately; without which the world would not induce me to reside there. If an immediate Government is not established at St. John's, every species of disorder and confusion will ensue. The Justices, unexceptionable as their Characters are, do not command sufficient respect, and superior Courts are so remote, they laugh at the Idea of a citation from them. Pray write me by the first conveyance, and on what ground your hopes of seeing General Fox stand. I am so unwell with a head Ache, I write this in bed. Believe me dear Winslow,

With the sincerest Affection

Ever Yours,

Tho. Barclay.

P. S. When will the Brandywine come round.

*Colonel Arthur Goold, secretary of the province of Nova Scotia.
†Chief Justice Bryan Finucane.

Edward Winslow to Lt. John Robinson.*

May, 1784.

Dr. John,—I may have led you into a scrape, but terminate how it will my intentions were good.

General Campbell has discovered that the most infamous frauds have been committed and the most scandalous impositions attempted in the Returns for Rations from the Disbanded Corps & Loyalists, and he has determined to put an end to those abuses if possible, and as the readiest way to effect a reformation he has ordered that all the Corps and Classes shall be immediately mustered, and he has appointed very respectable gentlemen to superintend the business and assigned to every one his district. He has given them ample powers and furnished them with particular instructions.

He desired me to name a man to perform the duty in the district of Annapolis and I have taken the liberty of mentioning your name. As it is that kind of an appointment which cannot interfere with your half-pay, and as it is really confidential and important, I flatter myself you will have no objection to accept it. The allowance will be 10s. a day while on duty. My advice to you is that you proceed immediately to Annapolis and have a consultation with Mr. Williams† and the Officer commanding, to whom you will communicate your Instructions; that you divide your district into four or five tracts and after fixing your route, publish your advertizements in succession.

I shall inclose you a number of memorandum books which you will use for the different classes and after having collected the several Lists you will consolidate 'em into one general Return. Your instructions will point out the intention of the appointment. By them you will see that the General's principal wish is to obtain an accurate account of the number and description of persons who have settled in the different districts and I am sure you will be able to give it. You cannot be too minute. You will have it in your power to do justice, &c,

[The above is a rough draught & lacks signature.]

William Pagan to Dr. William Paine.

St. Andrews, 2d May, 1784.

Dear Sir,—I have just learned of your arrival at Harbor I'Tang and am in great hopes before your return to Halifax you will find time to pay

*Son of Colonel Beverley Robinson, gazetted ensign in the Loyal American Regiment, November 15, 1777, and lieutenant in June, 1781. After living for a while at Annapolis he came to St. John, and was deputy paymaster general of the forces. He married a daughter of Chief Justice Ludlow; was a member of the council of the province, mayor of the city of St. John, and first president of the Bank of New Brunswick. He died in 1828, aged 67 years.

†Thomas Williams, Esq., ordnance storekeeper and commissary at Annapolis. He was grandfather of Sir Wm. Fenwick Williams, the hero of Kars.

our new Settlement a visit. You will find us in a state of infancy, but when it is considered that there was not a single house erected till last October, you will not think light of our exertions.

We have now about Ninety Houses up, and great preparations making in every quarter of the Town for more. Numbers of Inhabitants are daily arriving and a great many others are hourly looked for from different quarters. Agents are now here from the neighboring States on the look out for Lands for a number of valuable Inhabitants who wish to emigrate here being tired of their new Government.

I have not been in your part of the Bay, but from information the Lands are Good. I early this Spring made one of an Exploring Party. We went all round Oak Point Bay, and up Scudock* River as far as the Indian Settlement a little above the Falls. These are part of the Lands laid out for the Associated Loyalists from Penobscot, and I can with pleasure assure you that the Land in general is very good, abounding with large Quantitys of hard wood, all kinds of Pine Timber of a large growth and very handy to the water where most vessels can safely anchor. There are a number of Falls of water where Saw Mills can be erected, but only two on Scuddock yet up. The Mill Privilidges on Oak Point Bay have been lately sold to defray the charges of the Town, the purchasers are making preparations to erect Saw Mills. The Timber is very handy to the Mills and no end to the quantity.

There is a large growth of White Pine fit for Masts & Spars of any dimensions. In fact from my own observation and from the information I have had from undoubted authority I am fully convinced that the Grand Bay. of Passamaquoddy alone can supply the whole British West India Islands with Boards, Plank, Scantling, Ranging Timber, Shingles, Clap Boards and every species of Lumber that can be shipped from any part of New England, oak staves excepted. Masts, spars and square timber, suitable for the British Market, can be furnished to any extent from here, and nothing prevents all these articles from being now furnished in the greatest abundance, of the best quality and on at least equal terms with any other part of the Continent, but the want of Inhabitants and Saw Mills, in both which we have the most promising prospect of cutting a very respectable figure in the course of this year.

The [easy] navigation to this Town exceeds any I have seen; no person of any observation will want a Pilot after being once up, and we are accessible at all seasons of the year.

The Fishery in this Bay you are no doubt sufficiently informed as to the great extent it can be carried on.

Excuse the liberty I have taken in giving my opinion of our new

*Saint Croix.

Settlement. I know you are interested in its prosperity and will be pleased with the accounts I have given, espetially when I assure you that I am not governed by my own opinion alone, but also by the opinion of every person who has taken any pains to explore this part of the country.

Should your time not permit you to pay us a visit now, I am in hopes to have the pleasure of meeting you at St Johns where I shall set out in a few days on my way to Halifax.

I am dear Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Will. Pagan.

William Hazen to Edward Winslow.

Fort Howe the 3 May, 1784.

Dear Sir,—I rec'd your favour 20th April; am very happy to find that General Fox will be Placed at the head of a new government on this Side of the Bay. I hope it will be very soon.

Every information will be collected with Respect to Lumber &c., for the West Indies by your Friends at this Place & forwarded to England to Prevent the navigation act from being Repealed. I have not the Least Doubt but there will be sufficient of Every kind after this year if there is proper encouragement.

I am Dear Sir,

Your most ob't Humbl. Servt.

Wm. Hazen.*

John Coffin to Edward Winslow.

Carleton, 5th May, 1784.

My dear Ned,—I have received your letter of the 20th Ap-l, the one from Upham did not attend it as mentioned, but I can easily form an opinion of its contents. Every thing in my power shall be done. I cannot boast of many friends in power at home, but old Sir Guy shall have an address from this Town with as handsome an invitation as we are capable of penning. And as to the Act mentioned I cannot suppose our friends at home ever will suffer it to be repealed; it's an absolute fact that we can supply the West Indies with what Lumber and fish they can consume, excepting staves which are to be got from Canada in great abundance. The prospect of our becoming a separate Government has elated me to that

*William Hazen, sr., was the business partner of Simonds and White at Portland Point. He was a member of the first council of the province. His house, built at Portland Point in 1773, is still standing (1901) and in good repair. For biographical sketch of Hon. William Hazen see New Brunswick Magazine for Dec. 1898, pp. 316–324.

degree as to render me totally unfit for any kind of business. By the day our letters and papers are ready for England a vessel will sail from hence for Europe. Mr. Campbell has informed me he has some direction about your Father's place. I wish he had been a little more explicit in his directions to me. One Merritt is at present on the place and will leave the buildings that he has erected for fourteen guineas. It's a great price for them, as they will only serve for out houses, and not for any length of time. But the Refugee that drew the lot had agreed to give that sum, so I don't know how the old Gentleman can be off. As the season is now advancing very fast, and as there is about ten acres of Land clear, I have concluded to hire a man to plant by the halves and quit the place in the fall. During this time a house can be erected and made comfortable for him and the old Lady against the winter should he chuse to reside there at that season. Give my best love to him and the old Lady with the Girls. Request him to write me fully what he would have done together with the size of the house and, as I mentioned to him before, my attention and utmost exertions shall not be wanting to make him happy. * * *

My business is settled with Mr. Hecht,* and I have no doubt it will appear as I have represented it. I have been with Mr. Finucane and understand your lot and Murray's are taken from you in part. If I dare give you a detail of his conduct I would, but what I have already wrote about matters here to your quarter has taken such a turn that I dare not at present say anything. The time I hope is not far distant when I expect to see every thing undone and Mr. Hardy thrown neck & heels, with his party, into the River. Its infamous and disgraceful to a degree.

Pray my Dear Ned see if you can't hear of some letter from Nath. [Coffin] † for me. * * *

Our good friend Thomas has left us ere this. I should have wrote him a very long letter but was up at the farm. Pray make our most affectionate regards to him should he be with you, which I much doubt. I shall write him fully by the vessel that sails soon from hence.

With our most sincere love to the old Gentleman, Lady & Girls, We are forever,

Yours, John Coffin.

P. S. Return our sincere thanks to Mrs. Cotnam for her kind remembrance of us.

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*Frederick Wm. Hecht, at this time in charge of the commissary general's office at Fort Howe. He hired the store and some other buildings belonging to Hazen, Simonds and White at Portland Point, for the accommodation of the commissariat department.

†Brother of John Coffin.

Major Studholme to Edward Winslow.

Parr Town, 9th May, 1784.

Dear Sir,—Being absent when the Lands of Conway were drawn for, Mr. Street* forgot a memorandum of reserve I left in the office respecting the part of those lands joining Glazier Manor,† which were directed to be reserved for your Family, and the bearer Mr. Dalzel has drawn those lands, and as he is a very good and useful man I have recommended him for a Grant some where else and shall thank you for your assistance in procuring it for him. I beg you will excuse this trouble and attribute this mistake to its true cause and not to any neglect or inattention of mine. The impatience of the bearer leaves me only time to congratulate you on the late good news we have had from England and to assure you that I am with true esteem,

Dear Sir,

Your obliged and obed't Humb'l Serv't.

G. Studholme.

Edward Winslow to Ward Chipman.

Halifax, 12th May, 1784.

My dear Fellow,—The inclosures are this instant received from St. John's. I forward 'em because they will give you the best idea of the present State of matters here.— The operations of the Chief-Justice have terminated exactly as we expected—the hauteur and parade which distinguished him had not the intended effect—such men as our old friends Hewlet, Deveber, Coffin, Leonard, Tyng, &c., are not easily dazzled by such superficial nonsense, and they have treated him with perfect contempt I have endeavored to soothe these men by repeated assurances, that a Government will be immediately established there, & I verily believe that unless that event takes place immediately, that Country will exhibit such scenes of desperation & distress as were never before read of.

*Samuel Denny Street, here referred to, was an Englishman by birth and a lawyer by profession. He was gazetted a lieutenant in the Royal Fencible Americans, and rendered important services during the Revolution. At the close of the war he was at Fort Howe with Major Gilfred Studholme, and assisted in the settlement of the Loyalists on the River St. John. He took up a grant of land in Sunbury County, near the Oromocto River, which he named the "Elysian Fields." He represented Sunbury County for some years in the house of assembly. His son, George Frederick Street, became a judge of the supreme court, and another son, Hon. Ambrose Street, was a prominent legislator and attorney general. The Rev. Samuel Denny Lee Street, for 41 years rector of Woodstock, N. B., was his youngest child. He died at Burton in 1830, in his 79th year, having outlived every member of the first council of the province, as well as every member of the first bench and bar.

†Glasier's Manor was, in the first instance, granted to Lieut. Col. Beamsley Perkins Glasier of the 4th battalion of the 60th, or Royal American, Regiment, on Oct. 15, 1765. He sold it to General Coffin. The manor included about 5,000 acres, lying on both sides of the Nerepis river.

I do not write to any other person, there is no passenger going in the Camel to whose care I can commit my budget, I therefore address to Mr. Watson.

I cannot help indulging the hope that General Fox is by this time preparing to come out—He cannot realize how important it is to be expeditious in this business. My anxiety increases every hour.

What in the world are you about?—not a packet arrived—a General without Commission or Instructions—37,000 people crying for provisions —Magazines empty—& no provisions at Market. That's the situation of the Country at present. Add to this a Governor without abilities—a Council of Republicans—combating with every weapon in their reach the whole corps of Loyalists, & embarrassing them by every possible impediment.

This is a pretty picture, but alas it is a true one.

I hope before this reaches you, you will have embraced our friend Coffin. I miss him terribly. God forever bless him.

I really feel too dull—to attempt writing anything for your amusehent. I am extremely agitated and shall continue so until I hear from you. Write for Heaven's sake.

All your connections here & at Granville are well.

Adieu,

Affectionately,

Your Ed. Winslow.

The bearer is a Survivor from the wreck of the Martha where poor Doughty,* &c., were drowned. He is highly recommended by his officers. His name, Owens.

Major John Coffin to Edward Winslow.

Carleton, May 15, 1784.

My dear Ned,—Some days past I wrote you a long letter to which no answer as yet has arrived. The refugee that drew the lot your father has got, left Town a few days past for Halifax in high Dugeon about its being granted away. * * *

Would to God, General Fox was arrived as we should then recover from our present confusion. I gave you a sufficient hint how matters were going on in my last. I need not inform you that your lot with Upham's, Murray's and many others are given away, as I know you are informed of it—one of the Damdest Rascals of the set has received yours and I am informed a grant is to be given to him immediately. After the fatigue

*Captain Bartholemew Doughty of DeLancey's 3rd Battalion, who was drowned in the transport ship Martha, with many of his men. See under date 13th Oct., 1783, in this book.

and trouble Studholme has been at for the settlement, to have this Chief with Brother Toady,* lay violent hands on everything and condemn everybody he thinks proper and derange all our affairs without a candid hearing is too much. However Studholme I trust has both spirit and ability to rectify matters, if you and your General do not relieve us before that should take place. At present I am on very good terms with the Chief: do not let what I have said on this subject take air, other ways the Governor, together with yourself may probably conceive I am going to raise another insurrection on the River. (I have you there my boy.)

Our memorials are going forward with all the expedition we are masters of. I have heard that Mr. Hardy† is forming a party against it, and have no doubt will throw everything in its way. He is I assure you a very troublesome fellow, but I hope we shall soon unhorse the Dog. My best love to your father, mother & sisters, also to Mrs. Winslow when you write her, I wrote some little time past but have had no answer, hope she's well. God Bless you my dear fellow and am

Truly yours,

John Coffin.

Representation of the Inhabitants of St. Andrews.

St. Andrews, 26 May, 1784.

Gentlemen,—We had the honour to receive your favor of the 18th current with the inclosures and have laid them before the Inhabitants of this town at a Meeting called for the purpose of considering the same.

We have the Pleasure to acquaint you that the Meeting were unanimous in the opinion of the inconveniency and disadvantages arising to the Inhabitants on the North side of the Bay of Funday by the distance from Halifax, the present seat of Government, and sensible of the great advantages which would attend the Establishment of a New Province to comprehend all the settlements on the North Side of the Bay, and they

*The reference is to Bryan Finucane, chief justice of Nova Scotia, and his brother, Andrew Finucane.

†Elias Hardy was born at Farnham, in Surrey, England, in 1744, and was admitted attorney and solicitor at Westminster Hall. He came to America, and in 1783 was in law practice at New York. He was an active opponent of the designs of the "Fifty-five" petitioners who strove to obtain grants of 5,000 acres each in Nova Scotia, in consideration of their services to the Crown. He was employed by the government of Nova Scotia to promote the escheat of unsettled lands for the accommodation of the Loyalists. He became to some extent a leader of the democracy, and gained in consequence the ill-will of the provincial officials. He was chosen a member of the New Brunswick house of assembly for the County of Northumberland at the first election. As a lawyer, tradition says that Elias Hardy was well nigh without a peer. He and Ward Chipman were usually opposed to one another in important cases. Hardy was an active Free Mason. He died in St. John in 1798, at the comparatively early age of 54 years.

earnestly wish that the application for that purpose, which appears to be the general voice of the Inhabitants, may be attended to by the British Legislature.

We have likewise the satisfaction to acquaint you that in the Grand Bay of Passamaquoddy alone a sufficient Quantity of Board and other Lumber can in a short time be furnished to supply the greatest part of the British West India Islands: likewise large quantitys of masts, spars & other Lumber suitable for the European Market. Altho' the first of our Settlers only arrived here in October last, yet we have already sent a number of Cargoes of Lumber to the West Indies and several ports in Nova Scotia, and as more Saw Mills are now erecting our Exports of Lumber will rapidly increase.

There being no doubt that the Province of Nova Scotia & Canada can amply supply the British and West India Markets with all the kinds of Lumber generally exported from North America, all our Inhabitants earnestly wish that the British Legislature may in their wisdom think proper to continue to these provinces the exclusive priviledges of supplying the British West Indies with Fish and Lumber, and also grant to them Bountys on the Exportation of those articles, which will greatly add to the encouragement of our Trade and Fishery.

We have wrote you thus fully at the unanimous desire of the Inhabitants of St. Andrews at their Meeting this day,

And have the Honour to be, Gentlemen

Your most obedient Hum. Servants,

Robert Pagan,
Colin Campbell,
Wm. Gallop,
Jer. Pote.

To Messrs Frederick Hauser, George Leonard, William Tyng, Thos. Horsfield, Bartholomew Crannel, James Peters & William Hazen; Agents for the Loyalists on St. John River.

Thomas Brown* to Edward Winslow.

Cornwallis, 28th May, 1784.

Sir,—I have long since wanted to communicate to you my Friend, sentiments you may think salutary (perhaps otherwise), that a sufficient number of Issuing Commissaries should be appointed and paid by Government to distribute to the disbanded Officers and Soldiers under the denomination of Refugees settled in this province, to give out provisions agreeable to Order or discretionary, which will in all probability not only forward

*Thomas Brown was a Boston Loyalist.

the settlements but answer every purpose of the King's Bounty. I have been well informed that at St. John's River numbers have sold their six months provisions for a trifling sum, as well other places, consequently must become persons of Charity or addicted to bad courses injurious to the public at large and not answer the intention of Government.

Any business you may have this way command me who has the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

Thos. Brown.

Ward Chipman to Edward Winslow.

London, 6th June, 1784.

My dear Winslow,—I have just now received yours of 12th May with the inclosures, by the Camel, and am seriously, most seriously distressed at the description you give of the situation of matters on the St. John's, the more so as there are such unaccountable delays in compleating the arrangements for the new Government.* Everything is at a stand here. Whether administration have yet any doubts of the expediency of a separate Government there or whether they must have the sanction of Parliament before the matter is divulged I know not, but alas from these delays another year will be lost and from your letters I fear the most fatal consequences to the settlements from such a circumstance.

I will communicate all your intelligence in such channels as will most probably have a good effect to expedite our views and wishes, but indeed such is the situation of things here, so undecided and indeterminate the conduct of ministers that you can depend upon nothing; so important however to this nation is the object now in contemplation that it is not to be supposed but that it will finally be adopted.

Gen'l Fox went out of Town a week ago, he had been there three weeks during all which time not a syllable was said to him respecting the new Government by the Minister. He will come to Town again tomorrow when I will have free communication with him and let you know the result if possible by this opportunity.

Some time ago I made a specific application to the Secretary of State for the Office of Attorney General in the new Gov't. I was told those offices (meaning I suppose of Att'y & Solic'r Gen'l) were already disposed of to Persons taken from the same line—from this I imagine Blowers, thro' the interest of Sir Wm. Pepperell, is appointed Att'y Gen'l,† but I under-

*By "the new Government" Chipman means the proposed new Province north of the Bay of Fundy.

†Sampson Salter Blowers was named as attorney general of New Brunswick, but relinquished the position immediately on receiving a like appointment for Nova Scotia. See letter in Lawrence's "Foot Prints," page 13, also the Canadian Archives for 1895, under New Brunswick.

stand Blowers will not quit Halifax, in which case Sir Wm. promises to use all his influence and interest to get the appointment transferred to me. This or something else I must obtain immediately, my stock is nearly exhausted, and I have totally failed in all my pursuits and prospects in coming to England, most heartily regret that I did not go immediately to Halifax from New York. Of all countries in the world this is the worst to be in without a great deal of money and even then has not half the rational social enjoyments and pleasures that our own Country affords, or rather of an American Society such as we have been used to. I am greatly relieved by Coffin's* arrival. We take lodgings together tomorrow, and I shall of course make myself tolerably happy till I embark which God grant I may speedily do. * * *

Murray and Upham are in Wales at Col. Murray's,† but are expected soon in Town—the former I believe has not been successful in any of his applications here, what they were I know not. He is very much embarrassed and distressed poor Fellow, and what he will do to extricate himself I know not.

Judge and Col. Ludlow have taken advantage of this interval of delay in the arrangements for our new Country to make an excursion to see the manufacturing Towns, &c. I am however to summon them immediately back if anything requires their attendance. I will now close this to save the opportunity by Col. Brownlow if possible. If he does not go I will write you again tomorrow. Adieu. God bless you forever prays your faithful and devoted,

Chip.

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*Thomas Aston Coffin, a native of Boston. He was a warm personal friend of Ward Chipman and of Edward Winslow. The latter named his second son Thomas Aston Coffin after his friend and comrade. Thos. A. Coffin graduated at Harvard in 1772. He was private secretary to Sir Guy Carleton. In 1783 he was at Halifax as paymaster of army contingencies. He visited England and returned soon afterwards to Halifax. He was afterwards with Sir Guy Carleton at Quebec. Here he filled the positions of secretary of the province and comptroller of accounts. Returning to England, he was knighted and became a baronet. He was influential and wealthy. See Winslow's references to him under date 7th June, 1806, and Chipman's reference under date 20th May, 1810. He died in London in 1810, at the age of fifty-six.

†Colonel John Murray of Rutland, Massachusetts, is here meant. He was at this time living in England. He was quite a remarkable personage. In height about 6 feet 3 inches, well proportioned and of fine appearance. His portrait by Copley is now in possession of J. Douglas Hazen of St. John. He was four times married and had a very large family of children. His estate, abandoned in the old colonies and confiscated by the Americans, was valued at £23,367. He came to New Brunswick, where he died in the year 1794. Two of his daughters married respectively Judge Upham and Hon. Daniel Bliss. His son, Daniel Murray (who with Joshua Upham is mentioned in the letter above), came to New Brunswick in command of the King's American Dragoons: he was one of the members for York County in the first house of assembly.

Major John Coffin to Edward Winslow.

Carleton, June 1784.

My dear Ned,—This is my third or fourth letter. There have been many direct opportunities to this place but not a line from you or your Father. My House has been vacant these ten days for his family.

* * * The sight of his place just now would increase his health & spirits to that Degree as to enable him to take hold of the plough. Mr. Hazen who delivers you this will inform the old Gentleman particularly. He brought trout caught at the Landing weighing two pounds and more. Salmon he will have in the greatest abundance.

We have all exerted ourselves to the utmost in forming and forwarding the letters and memorials to our good and worthy friends. Why don't you give me assurance of our new Government's being fixed, you are not explicit enough on that head. * * * Our Town (Carleton) are in raptures with the plan and bore me to death for news. You must know my good fellow that I am of some little consequence among the vagabonds. No people in the world could have behaved better than they have during the late disturbance which I hope will induce our new Governor, God Bless him, to reside with them. I know your partiality for that side of the water, apropos—prepare your Father & Family for the house they are to come into when they get here. * * * My best love to the Girls, your Mother and the old Gentleman with all other friends. Pray has Aplin led himself or me into a scrape?* Write me fully my dear friend on that head. Dr. Payne can inform you fully of the circumstances of my conduct. Compliments to all friends. God Bless you,

——— John Coffin.

Edward Winslow to Ward Chipman.

16th June, 1784.

My dear fellow,—When I began my letter of the 9th inst my good old Father was very ill. The inclosed paragraph will convey to you the melancholy tidings of his death,† but my distress & that of the Family cannot be described. Chipman! What shall I do?

Excuse me to my friends, Coffin, Mr. Watson & every body. I cannot write. I thought I could bear anything—but by Heaven this is too much.

Adieu my best of Friends,

Yours ever,

Ed. Winslow.

*Joseph Aplin had made some strong accusations against the Nova Scotia officials, charging them with neglect and partiality in their conduct towards the Loyalists. He associated Col. Coffin with himself in the matter. The latter did not appreciate Aplin's action, and would not assume responsibility for his utterances.

†The elder Edward Winslow died at Halifax, June 9, 1784.

Messrs. Kennedy,* Hauser† & Hazen to Edward Winslow.

June 19, 1784.

Whereas in a Protest published in the Publick News Papers of the 8th June, 1784, at Halifax, it is suggested, That the plan of forming a new Government on the River St. Johns was made by a small Number of the Inhabitants of Parr-town not duly authorized for the Purpose—That they refused to take the Sense of a very numerous Body of the Inhabitants—and That they obtained signatures fraudulently & without acquainting the Subscribers of the nature of the Business. We beg leave to inform you that from our general Acquaintance with the Inhabitants at Parrtown on the River St. Johns, & at Passamaquoddy, we look upon ourselves as competent Judges of the Sentiments of the body of the People, and We are convinced that there is no Person of any consideration or consequence on the River St. Johns or at Passamaquoddy who is not perfectly satisfied of the absolute necessity of forming a new Government on the other Side of the Bay of Fundy, as the very existence of the Settlements there depends upon it.

And We beg further to assure you that we know the Inhabitants of that District of Country in general to be highly pleased with the Steps taken by you and your Friends towards the attainment of so desirable an object, from a full conviction that you have in every instance studied the Publick Welfare of the Settlements there and been unwearied in your endeavors to serve them. We further know the Address mentioned in the said Protest to have been dictated agreeable to the general Sense of the Inhabitants of Parr-town on the River St. Johns, and at Passamaquoddy, that the Officers present represented the Corps which they formerly commanded, and that it was signed by upwards of one thousand respectable persons who were fully acquainted with its Nature and Contents.

In behalf of the Settlers on the River St. Johns and at Passamaquoddy we request you to accept our sincere thanks for your spirited exertions in our behalf. And we hope that the trifling opposition of a few obscure,

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*Captain Patrick Kennedy's commission in the Maryland Loyalists is dated October 14, 1777. He was of Baltimore and by profession a physician. Those of his regiment who survived the wreck of the "Martha" settled on the Nashwaak river opposite Fredericton.

†Frederick Hauser was in 1781 a captain in the Loyal Foresters, but his company never amounted to anything, only a handful of men appearing at any muster. He came to Annapolis in October, 1782, with Amos Botsford and other Loyalists, and was one of the exploring party who visited the St. John River the winter following. (See their report in Murdoch's History of N. S., vol. III, p. 13.) He was by profession a surveyor and laid out the grants at Kingston and elsewhere for the Loyalists.

interested People, will not prevent you from continuing to interest yourself in our favour.

Given under our hands at Halifax the 19th Day of June 1784.

Patrick Kennedy,
Sen'r Officer & Com'r late Maryl'd Loyal'ts.
Fred Hauser,
Agent for the Loyalists at St. John River.
Wm. Hazen.

Thomas Knox to Major Gen. Campbell.

Fort Howe, River St. John, 24th June, 1784.

Sir,—The late arrival of a number of Families from the American States, who profess an intention of settling in this part of the Province and most of whom produce certificates of Loyalty to the King, has brought upon me many applications for the Royal Bounty of Provisions which I could wish to have evaded until I receive your orders concerning them. But upon a Representation of their extreme indigence and a strict inquiry into the merits of their claims I have been induced, as a temporary relief to their necessities, to give my certificates on the Commissary for fourteen days Provisions in favor of 69 men, 18 women, 21 children about ten, 16 children under ten—named in the Returns accompanying them. They have been mustered by me in separate classes, and I have given directions to the Persons commanding them to detain the Provisions in their own hands until a certificate is produced from each family according to a form which I have given them (a copy of which I inclose) and to account with me for the whole quantity when I return from the River. I shall then have more leisure to enquire into their claims individually.

I also take the liberty to interfere in behalf of Children who have been born since the arrival of the Loyalists in this Province. Their numbers are few and the necessities of the new Settlers require every aid—I have included them in my Returns to the Commissary, who, I am informed has refused to allow them.

Having closed my Business at Parr & Carleton and the Settlements in the Neighborhood, I shall set off tomorrow for the River St. Johns. From the dispersed state of the People and the necessity of seeing every Individual it is not possible to say what time the duty on that River and its different Branches may require. I shall use every exertion to accomplish it in as short a time as the nature of the business will allow.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

T. Knox.

Major Gen'l Campbell.

Sir John Wentworth to Edward Winslow.

Halifax, 8th July, 1784.

My dear Sir,—The inclosed letters came in the Resource—8 weeks & 5 days from Spithead. I can learn nothing of public arrangements; probably none were completed for this Province, Neither will much be done untill late in June. Mr. Fox has carried his election for Westminster. A passenger, last from London, says, it was reported that Changes were still expected, and a junction of partys in contemplation.

Sir Charles Douglas's voyage to Quebec, begins to be very doubtful. I shall embark on board the Bonetta for St. Johns river, on Sunday next, wind & weather permitting.

Forrest arrived to day from New London; Mr. Wilkins & 20 in family arrived yesterday. A Ship with many refugees arrived from Florida. No other news.

As to public business here—I fear it progresses from bad to worse. Every succeeding day, furnishes new cause of astonishment to me—of complaint and resentment to others. I cordially wish the arrangement for St. Johns was effected, and that district in possession of the good Government we wish, for their sakes. In truth I have enthusiasm eno' to forsee that Province rescuing the honor of Gov't from Prostration—and flourishing thro', or by means of, a well directed administration.

Your Kitchen Furniture is arrived, it was packed in two cases, for the convenience of travelling; I hope it is as good as I ordered, and will meet your approbation. It is sent to your House in this town.

Your sincere affect. Friend;

J. Wentworth.

Ward Chipman to Edward Winslow.

London, 9th July, 1784.

My dear Ned,—I intended to have devoted this forenoon to writing to you but have been interrupted so frequently that I am now confined to half an hour. Coffin, however, who is in the same lodgings with me, has been writing to Mr. Townsend, and between us both you will get what intelligence there is to communicate. I shall confine myself to one subject, the only one which has taken up my attention for a long time, as it so materially effects us both, I need not say it is the new Government on the River St. Johns. We were all very much disappointed in Col. Fox's refusal of the Government—his reason was that he found a Governor General was to be appointed, tho' not immediately, and that Sir Guy Carleton, was not going out, he would not therefore risque there being appointed a General Vaughan or any other officer under whom he would not serve, which would

create a necessity of his resigning perhaps within a very short time of his going out. He therefore told Lord Sidney he would accept the office if Sir Guy was to be appointed Governor General, otherwise not. The Government was then offered to your Friend Col. Musgrave, who declined it assigning the same reason and making the same declaration to the Secretary of State.

Col. Carleton, Sir Guy's brother, is at length appointed and has accepted. The arrangements so far as they are known are, Judge Ludlow Chief Justice. Col. Putnam* Major Upham, and Lt. Col. Isaac Allen, Judges on the same bench: Jonathan Bliss, Attorney General, and Sir Guy told Mr. Watson that I was put down as Solicitor Gen'l. Had either Fox or Musgrave accepted the Government, you would have been the Secretary with the concomitant offices. But Mr. Odell has this appointment under Col. Carleton. I am at a loss indeed to determine whether it would have been prudent for you to resign your half pay, as you must have done, for the emoluments of that office. You I understand are one of the Council. I am now to tell you a secret not by any means to be again mentioned, which I have in confidence from Mr. Watson this morning, with permission to mention it to you only, in a very private letter. Col. Carleton's is but a temporary appointment, he goes on Governor to Quebec and will take Mr. Odell with him, both Sir Guy and Mr. Watson say that Col. Fox will yet succeed him as Gov'r of New Brunswick,† (the name of our new Province) from which I conjecture, I think with great reason, that Sir Guy is still to be the Governor General. Sir Guy and Mr. Watson have concluded upon your appointment as Secretary in that case, if worth your acceptance, which will be in some degree ascertained by Odell's experiment of it. The place was unsolicited by Odell, but you may easily conceive that Sir Guy felt himself obliged to provide for him‡ and there was no other way of doing it. I believe Judge Sewell will be one of the Council. I confess for myself I am not a little disappointed with respect to the office of Att'y General, tho' Bliss is certainly a very good Fellow, but as he was receiving a pension of £150 per ann. this is saved to Government by appointing him—there will be no salary to the Solicitor General, at least none that will be equivalent to my half pay. I shall therefore depend upon my practice for support.

*James Putnam of Worcester, Massachusetts. He was a graduate of Harvard in 1746. He was banished and proscribed on account of his loyalty. He was considered by his contemporaries as an exceedingly able lawyer. John Adams was his law student and boarded in his family. He died at St. John in 1789, aged 64 years. There is a handsome monument over his last resting place in the old grave yard. In the Putnam vault are buried also the elder Jonathan Sewell and the Rev. George Bisset.

†This plan evidently was seriously contemplated, but was never carried into execution.

‡Rev. Jonathan Odell seems to have been one of Sir Guy Carleton's secretaries.

Col. Carleton kisses the King's hand this day on his appointment, and I should suppose the whole arrangements will be out in a few days and that we shall all be hurried off very suddenly. Col. Ludlow talks of taking passage in the Adamant, which sails the 1st Aug't. It is not improbable that I shall accompany him. Tell Mr. Townsend I shall in that case certainly avail myself of his very friendly offer of Quarters for a few days. I have failed altogether in my expectations from the Board of Claims, the business of which remains unnoticed to this moment. I have expended nearly all my money, and am heartily sick of this country. We shall at least have a good society and live chearfully in our new Government if we are poor. Won't my half-pay Agency pursuit come to something in time?

I am called upon for my letter. Remember me most particularly to your Father and the Girls, tell them they will now soon be delighted with my warbling some of the most improved airs. To your dear Mary and the little ones make my most affectionate remembrances, there is no circumstance about which I feel more anxious than seeing them, a pleasure which I hope will not be much longer delayed. I presume Murray will be on his passage very soon don't fail to send him. Coffin will take care of him in my absence. Adieu, God Almighty for ever bless you prays most sincerely,

Your friend,

Chip.

Tom* incloses the Papers under cover to you and Mr. Townsend—say to him for me every thing affectionate and grateful.

Thomas Knox to Edward Winslow.

St. Anns, 25th July, 1784.

D'r Colonel,—You can't condemn me so much as I do myself for not having wrote to you before. I have been engaged it is true, but I had predetermined not to let any engagements prevent my acknowledging the civilities I received from Mrs. Winslow; the truth is I expected from daily Reports to have seen you on this side the Bay.

I am proceeding by slow stages thro' my present journey, God knows when I shall get thro', I meet with difficulties as unwelcome as they are unexpected. I have finished I hope at Saint Ann's the Settlements above and the Naashwaake. The impossibility of assembling the Corps at any particular place, which would be attended with so much inconvenience to the Families of Women and Children, and their importunities so great to be seen at their own Houses, that I have been obliged to consent to take

*The reference is to Thomas Aston Coffin.

account of them wherever I met them. This has induced delay and will prevent my return as soon as I hoped.

I have received from Capt. Ovens, late commanding officer at Fort Howe, and Capt. Balfour the present, every assistance. Capt. Balfour was good enough to order me the Boat, without which I should have been put to great difficulties in coming up the River. The business will now I hope be done effectually; every man will have justice done him and at the same time I have reason to believe many thousand Rations will be saved to Government.

The officers of Disbanded Corps make great complaints against me for striking off nominal servants, which they say was an allowance made them by Sir Guy Carleton in his arrangements for settling this Province and afterwards by Major Provost when the Regiments were disbanded. As I am ignorant of any such allowance and consider the Rations of Provisions as promised only to Persons who settled in the Province, I have allowed only such as came under the description pointed out in my orders, and no servants but those who drew in their own right. * * * Notwithstanding all attention to prevent impositions I have no doubt many people will be fed by Government, who do not mean to settle in the Province, and many I believe have already left after having partaken of the Bounty. * * * * I would be glad to be informed by you whether I am to go to Passamaquoddy—it is reported that the people there have been mustered. I at the same time wish to know whether Merrimashee is considered in this District. If I go there I cannot expect to return in less than a month; at all events I must finish the business on this River before I think of it, and by that time I hope to hear from you.

I am sorry to find the Settlers on this side the Bay warmly engaged in opposing each other, to the great detriment of the Province as well as themselves. They go on building notwithstanding. Both Parr & Carleton exhibit proofs of industry scarcely to be related, but very few have got upon their Lands. I have been 40 miles above St. Anns but am sorry to say that few of the Soldiers have reached the Lotts laid out for them. They generally complain that they are neglected, and express a strong desire to have their Lotts pointed out to them, when they say they will immediately go upon them.

The Town of St. Anns is marked out but no house as yet makes its appearance.

A report has been lately circulated that Governor Fox has arrived at Halifax. It gave great pleasure to every body here. I wish it may soon take place as the Settlement of this River requires more and more the assistance of an able manager.

The Governor [Parr] condemns the measure of carrying the New

Corps so high up the River, says the idea was born and bred at New York & carried into execution by their Agents. I have a copy of his letter to shew you.

I hope to leave this place tomorrow on my return to Parr. I have a number of People to see below Majorville which I hope will not delay me more than ten days.

I am, &c.,

T. Knox.

Colonel Winslow.

Gregory Townsend to Edward Winslow.

Halifax, 29th July, 1784.

Dear Sir,—Your kind favor from the Mount,* of the 19th, found its way to me yesterday. The intelligence from home respecting your Government, being so uniform from every quarter, gives great reason to confide in the hope of seeing the separation take place to your wishes.

The Major† and his coadjutors have declared war against the G[overnor] & C[hief] J[ustice]; are to have a pitched battle tomorrow in the Council Chamber. Fanning is the Hero of your party, and as I think the cause he has engaged in is just, I most heartily wish success and redress may crown their laudable endeavors.

Poor Adam and Eve,‡ does Adam's anxiety lessen his Diameter. Your social friend the Major and some of the comforts from the Maria will afford great consolation. If Morris has not disposed of himself as you premise, he ought to be here in a few days. Solitary woods is the most dangerous situation that a man so far gone can place himself in. Where there is such a Damp on the spirits the poor Victim, among such a choice of Limbs, may be tempted to choose one to hang himself up to dry.

I fear your small stock of choice Madeira will suffer by your being so great an economist of your Port, keep some of that in case of sickness or

*Winslow facetiously called his place in Granville "Mount Necessity."

†The major here referred to is John Coffin; his coadjutors were Gilfred Studholme, William Tyng, George Leonard and James Peters. A remonstrance had been forwarded by the discontented people at St John to Governor Parr, early in 1784, against the agents for the settlement of Parr Town. Chief Justice Finucane was sent by the governor to enquire into the matter, but this did not satisfy the discontented. Another complaint was made to the governor, specifying in detail certain alleged grievances, upon which the agents voluntarily repaired to Halifax and submitted themselves to trial before Governor Parr, Lieut. Gov. Fanning and the council of Nova Scotia, assembled for the purpose, Chief Justice Finucane being also present. After a public hearing of two days, the following was the decision:—"The council are of opinion that "Gilfred Studholme, William Tyng, George Leonard, John Coffin and James "Peters, magistrates and agents on the River St. John, have acquitted them-"selves in their conduct with fairness, impartiality and propriety."

"(Signed) RICHARD BULKELEY, Secretary.

"Halifax, 3rd August, 1784."

‡The reference seems to be to Colonel Winslow and his wife.

other misfortune such as the visit of an old Commissary, &c., such things may happen. Make haste back, your family* here want much to see you. Mrs. Winslow will amuse herself with your little fat Tribe and readily forego the satisfaction of your company while you attend so amiable and necessary a duty. Where is New Ireland to be placed? is that to be the name of your new Government? I hope the new settlers will not encrease so fast but that we may have all the Posts† well supplied for the winter before Nov'r. What has yet arrived does not exceed 4 months and a half for our numbers. Not a word yet of Vessels from Cork. Two Vessels are gone to Quebec for another Cargo and two others it is said are yet expected. I think another year's full allowance, and half for next, would put the new settlers on their legs, at least all that deserve to stand.

I wish heartily to see the growth and prosperity of this Country. It will certainly be the happiest part of North America if not Dam'd by bad men & bad measures.

Daniel Bliss will call to see you with Dr. Prince and party. My respects to Mrs. Winslow. I want to know Mr. & Mrs. Williams and must come to Annapolis. My compliments to Hailes,‡ tell him I have tapped a pipe of Madeira better than the last—shall be happy to give him a taste.

Your faithfull Friend,

G. Townsend.

[P. S.] If the General and Lieut. have not left you, My respects to the General, Col. Morse, Addenbrooke‖ and Gordon.§

Thos. Aston Coffin to Edward Winslow.

London, 4th Aug't, 1784.

My dear Ned,—Mr. Watson has this moment informed me that a Paquet will sail tomorrow morning for Halifax, and has desired me to acquaint you that he had received your letters but thro' the hurry of business cannot write you at this time. He with me sympathizes with you in the loss of the good old Gentleman for whom he had obtained an allowance of £120 p. ann., and was fearful that with him it would have ceased. He however has obtained a promise that £30 stg. p. ann., each, shall be continued to your mother & sisters till the American claims are decided upon. This being unprecedented, as the whole family are on the other side of the Atlantic and no one of them having been examined here, Mr. W. begs it may not be communicated.

*Referring to his mother and sisters.

†Supplies were sent to various outlying posts, as, for example, St. Anne's Point, for distribution to the Loyalists.

‡Harris W. Hailes was fort major in 1784.

‖Captain Addenbrooke was aide-de-camp to the general commanding.

§Hugh Mackay Gordon was at this time major of brigade.

Colonel Carleton has received his Commission and taken the oaths and I suppose will leave this about the end of the month. Chip, Judge Ludlow, &c., will embark about the same time. Colonel Ludlow has taken passage in the St. Lawrence which sails in about a fortnight.

The Letters and Representations from your good Friend the Governor* and his virtuous Council will make no further impression. The business of the division of the Province having been settled before Mr. Andrew Finucane arrived; the official people here have other things to attend to than the Chief Justice's petty disputes. Besides Halliburton having arrived first, stated the whole business before the other one got to Town. * * *

Remember me to Blowers and family and all Friends. Adieu and God bless you says, Your affectionate Friend,

Thos. Aston Coffin.

Edward Winslow to Jonathan Odell.

[August, 1784.]

D'r. Odell,—There is not a man on earth who more sincerely rejoices at any event that contributes to your advantage than myself. I therefore cordially congratulate you on your appointment to the Secretaryship of New Brunswick, and although I had anticipated the same appointment for myself and had made arrangements for the comfortable enjoyment of it, I declare I feel no regret that it has fallen to a friend for whom I have so great an esteem.

This is "multum in parvo."

Tired of the province of Nova-Scotia—its Governor—its inhabitants—&c, I had seriously determined to remove my family to St. John's this winter and had hired a house of Mr. Hazen for that purpose. I cannot relinquish the idea without very disagreeable sensations. But there is a bar, which need not be insuperable if my friends exert themselves. I am literally extremely poor. The two families which I have been obliged to support have involved me very considerably, and I depended on some appointment in the new province to assist me in their future support. I cannot help flattering myself that my friend Gen. Fox may have mentioned me to Col. Carleton in such a way as to make him my friend. Now as I cannot reconcile myself to a separation from the society of my old acquaintance I mean in great confidence to request of you, that in the first arrangements of civil employments I may be considered. There will be various offices in the gift of the Governor and Council—such as Provincial Regis-

*Andrew Finucane had been sent to England by Governor Parr and his council in 1784 to counteract the agitation of the Loyalists for a division of the old Province of Nova Scotia.

trar, Judge of Probate, &c., &c. These are offices which I formerly held in my own country and for which I boldly say I am qualified, and will dash across the Bay of Fundy the ins't an appointment by which I can exist is announced to me.

I acknowledge, and I'll take the credit for it, that I have other motives for wishing to be early at St. John's. I have with great pains explored the country, I have collected the most particular information respecting its inhabitants, soils, productions &c. My former appointments with the Provincial Army gave me an opportunity of knowing the principal characters among the officials now settled at St. John's.

All these circumstances give me a kind of knowledge which may render me useful there, more so than almost any other individual, and I am anxious to contribute everything in my power to forward the settlement of it. Having, as I observed, expected to be employed in the office which you now hold, I had formed a kind of system which I wish to communicate. [Breaks off here, the letter is a rough draft without signature.]

Brig. Gen. H. E. Fox to Edward Winslow.

Brighthelmstone, 5th August, 1784.

Dear Winslow,—My only excuse for not writing to you sooner is that I did not know what to inform you of as determined. I will now begin from my last Letter, soon after the writing of which Lord Sydney sent to me & told me the Province [Nova Scotia] was to be divided and offered me the Government of New Brunswick. * * * It was then generally understood that Gov. Parr was to come home & Musgrave to be appointed Governor of Halifax & Col. Carleton of Canada. Gov. Parr's friends (I believe Lord Shelburne) have averted his being recalled.

About six weeks ago Lord Sydney sent for me again & acquainted me that the Government of N. Brunswick was arranged in Council and made me the offer of it, observing that Sir Guy Carleton was not to go out, that no Governor General was for the present to be appointed but in time some one would be found that would be agreeable to every body. I found also that Gov. Parr was not to be recalled nor Gen'l Haldimand from Canada. It is necessary to mention in the mean time I had found it absolutely necessary for my Nephew's affairs and my own for me to take out Letters of Administration to my Father's will.

* * * This consideration, and the very different situation I should find myself in, Sir Guy Carleton not being Governor General, induced me to decline it, upon which it was offered to Musgrave, who also declined it, and then to Col. Carleton who at first did the same, but has

since accepted it, as I understand, upon a promise of his going to Canada next year; but, however, next year is a long while.

Upon determining not to go myself, I immediately thought of your interests, but found that Mr. Odell was fixed upon by Col. Carleton at the recommendation of his Brother. Sproule had before been appointed Surveyor General and there was nothing your friends could think of for you that was not already filled up. Odell goes to Canada when Col. Carleton does. I have had some conversation with Carleton and have talked much of you, indeed I found him already prepossessed in your favor thro' Odell, who I believe is much your friend.

I have received a letter from Governor Parr in very civil terms but at the same time he appears very much hurt and accuses you of being the author of a foolish advertisement of Mr. Aplin, who I must own I should have been better pleased with had he not made use of my name or brought me in his squabble. I have answered the Governor's Letter, saying in pretty near as plain terms as he accuses you that I hope and believe he is misinformed with respect to you. I hope he will shew my letter as it at least will give full testimony of my opinion of you, which believe me, dear Winslow I shall ever retain the highest and hope fortune will still by some means or other bring us together again. Pray let me hear from you, and if by any means I can do anything for you in this country pray command me. * * *

Please to direct to me at my Brothers in St. James Street, London, and believe me

Most sincerely yours,

H. E. Fox.

William Chew to Gideon White.*

Maugerville, August 23, 1784.

D'r White,—I am now settled in the above mentioned Township about 80 miles up the river St. John's, the Country equal to any I ever saw. You speak highly of Shelburne but Mr. J. Seaman, who had the

*Gideon White was a native of Plymouth, Massachusetts, and a cousin of Edward Winslow. He took part with the British as a volunteer at the battle of Bunker Hill. Later in the war he held a commission as captain in the Duke of Cumberland's Regiment, commanded by Lord Charles Montagu. The corps was composed of Carolina Loyalists. They arrived in Halifax from Jamaica on Dec. 13, 1783, and were hutted for the winter. The next spring they were sent to the lands at Chedebucto, Guysborough County. Capt. Gideon White was assigned lands there with the others of his corps, but in the muster of settlers made on June 20, 1784, by General Campbell's order, he is returned as "at Shelburne with his three servants upon business." He, however, did not return to Guysborough, but remained in Shelburne, where he became a leading citizen; was a magistrate and elected a member of the house of assembly. He died in 1833 at the age of 81 years. His sister Joanna married Pelham Winslow, a Loyalist.

goodness to pass a few days with me, says there is no comparison between the land of Shelburne and the Township of Maugerville. Your Town exceeds ours I believe in size, &c, but what's a fine house without something to put in it. Give me leave to tell you, we have a fine crop at this time of wheat, oats, pease, corn and potatoes with every other vegetable as good and in as great variety as any place I ever saw. This place is capable of being made the first Township in the Province, the land up the river equally good when improved, which will soon be the case as the officers and soldiers are very industrious.

Captain Atwood* of the Kings American Regiment, was at my house a few days ago and informed me that he had cleared forty acres of land thirty miles above St. Anns and says the land is as good if not better than below.

Captain Haws Hatch, Lyman and Maxwell, of the Prince of Wales, are up the Nashwalk and have very good farms. I have no doubt but this will be the first place in the world for half pay officers if it should be made a separate Government.

General Campbell and his suite have paid us a visit. Colonel Winslow was with him. The General has ordered a Captain's command af St. Ann's, also barracks and provision store to be erected there. * * * Captain Ryerson and his brother are here. I think you had better cóme to this country and settle your affairs. I should be particularly happy to see you at my house for the winter or as long as convenient to you. I am happy to inform you that I and my family are well. Nothing will add more to my happiness than hearing of your health and welfare, which I hope I shall by every opportunity and believe me D'r White,

Yours most sincerely,

Wm. Chew.†

*Captain Isaac Atwood was in command of a company in the King's American Regiment in 1776, and served through the war. His was a company of Dragoons, though nearly all of the regiment were infantry. He was the senior officer of the corps who settled on the St. John River. The tract assigned the King's American Regiment lay between the Pokiok and Eel rivers. Captain Atwood was a New Jersey Loyalist. He was elected a member for York County in the first house of assembly of the province. He owned a tract of 700 acres at the mouth of the Eel River, also the island called Fall Island, now known as Brown's Island. Like many other Loyalist officers, he became involved in debt. An old newspaper contains the advertisement for sale by public auction, on Monday, Oct. 1, 1810, at Gabriel Van Horne's tavern in Fredericton, the mortgage title to the late Captain Atwood's property, consisting of Belviso Fall Island and his estate at Maductic. He probably died this year in the United States. The name of his estate seems to be perpetuated in "Belvisor Bar," well known to the lumbermen of the St. John River.

†William Chew was a lieutenant in the 3rd New Jersey Volunteers in 1777. He served through the hard campaigns in the south with much credit and was severely wounded. (See letter of Edward Winslow to Lieut. Gov. Wentworth under date 4th August, 1793.) He settled in New Brunswick. On the organization of the King's New Brunswick Regiment he received a commission in it. He died at Fredericton in 1812, aged 64 years.

Thomas Knox to Frederick Wm. Hecht.

Fort Howe, Sept. 1st, 1784.

Sir,—Major Gen'l Campbell having submitted to my decision the propriety of victualling children (of the Disbanded Corps and Loyalists) born in this Province—you will be pleased in future to issue half Rations of Provisions to all such as may be certified by me, commencing the 1st July, 1784, excepting where particular dates to the contrary are specified.

I am, sir, &c,

Thomas Knox,
Dy. Commissary of Musters.

To F. Wm. Hecht, Esq
Asst. Comm'y Gen'.

Mrs. Catharine Reading* to Edward Winslow.

Granville, September 2, 1784.

Dear Sir,— * * * It is not in my power to make amends for the daily favors from your hand, still I shall watch with attention when it may in any way be in my power. Your wife and dear little ones are all well. As for Miss Pen she is still sweeter every day. Mrs. Winslow's happiness would be compleat had she but you with her. * *

I must beg the favor of you to admonish Austin in his Duty in every respect, as being among strangers and no one to caution him. Our family are all well and join in affection to yourself.

I am Sir,

Your affectionate Friend,

Catharine Reading.

Gregory Townsend to Ward Chipman.

Halifax 3d September, 1784.

Dear Chipman,—* * * I have some doubts of this finding you in England and it is my earnest wish & hope that you may be on your way to some good appointment in New Brunswick. General Fox's not coming out as Governor is a great disappointment to Ned, tho' I endeavor to console him with the assurance that Sir Guy will influence his Brother in his favor and procure the place he expected. We hear Mr. Odell is Secretary, but our sanguine hopes have construed that into a private secretary. I shall be heartily mortified if he should be left unprovided for. * * *

G. Townsend.

*Mrs. Reading was a friend and neighbor of the Winslow family when they lived at Granville. Her son Austin seems to have been under Winslow's supervision.

Edward Winslow to His Wife.

[Extracts from a Note Book in size 3 3-4 by 5 3-4 inches. The first seven pages, and probably as many at the end, are missing. Written about Sept. 15th, 1784.]

* * * * * * * * * *

I cannot at this time enter upon the subject of our Son so largely as I could wish. But only tell you in general terms that I love him as ardently as yourself & that I am perfectly convinced of the goodness of his disposition & the other good qualities which you enumerate with so much maternal pleasure; these considerations make me anxious for his future and induce me to exert myself to the utmost to place him where he can obtain that greatest of all blessings (a good education) and altho' it grieves us both to part with him; yet let us for a moment anticipate the pleasure of seeing him return to us a few years hence a fine accomplished youth. How happy will we then be at the recollection of the hour when we consented to part with him. He has behaved with perfect propriety and, if you could see him now pacing across the parade between the General & Addenbrooke, you would be more than delighted with him. He has already been over half the town & visited all the people in it. His Scotch Boy attends him like a shadow, moves when he moves and stops when he stops. * * *

Don't grow too vain on the compliments I pay you. All the eloquence of Mr. Brittain could not prevail on me to attempt to sign my name, even to a paper of importance, but when the idea of writing you entered my mind, I instantly contrived a bolster to rest my hand, & I've already filled a number of pages. I have wrote John Robinson to request his assistance in fixing the house. It will be absolutely necessary to have some male friend to superintend the business, and I think he will exert himself.

I shall send some cloathing and other matters round which may be of some use.

My Mama & Sally are already so attached to Blacky* that I shall be as much puzzled to separate him from them as I have been from you. His Aunt Pen is on a visit to Dr. Haliburton's and has not yet seen him—altho' several pressing messages have been sent: it is rather too far till he is more rested. Think of the rascal's telling me "That He did not come to Halifax to read. It's time enough for that (says he) when I get to England."

Morris thinks he shall stay here about a month & I'll keep Murray till then. You may rely on it that he shall not stir without every comfort

*"Blacky" is evidently a nick-name given to little Murray on account of his dark complexion.

which your fondness can wish him. I hope before he embarks to see Chippy, and that we can together make every necessary arrangement for him. Mr. Byles* presents compliments. He will send another piece of ribband by next conveyance. Remember me to Blowers—be very civil to him.

Adieu, most affectionately,

Yrs. Edward.

Edward Winslow to His Wife.

[Contained in small Note Book 3 3-4 x 5 3-4 inches, with stiff cover, containing 28 pages and about 2,500 words. Book marked Vol. VI.]

Halifax, Monday 20, Sept'r. 1784.

What do I care whether it's the fashion for men to write long letters to their wives or not. No man on earth looks with more sovereign contempt on what's called Common Customs than I do. In matters where my own feelings are concerned I will not be shackled by any of the rules which bind the generality of mankind. I have said that in my present state of inaction I cannot enjoy a pleasure equal to that of writing to you, and that's sufficient reason for writing. If other men do not experience the same sensation they have not the same degree of sensibility nor the same degree of affection. Let such inanimate wretches be content with writing. "These few lines come hoping &c." I'll enjoy the superlative satisfaction of scribbling whole volumes. If from the feeble state of mind or body they should be dull or unentertaining, they will at least serve as proofs of the sincerity & fervency of my love for you.

Mentioning the word fashion at the beginning of my letter has unaccountably brought to my mind a dissertation upon the present Fashions in England which was read me from a letter from my celebrated friend Mrs. Coare (formerly Nancy Lechmere) and which does so much credit to the present taste that I will endeavor to give you as much of it as I can recollect. She says "The prevailing rage is to be perfectly plain. Caps are "not worn, except by elderly ladies, and feathers & all such kind of "Trumpery are totally laid aside. The younger ladies wear plain, deep "crown'd hats. Muslin & Chintz Gowns with plain long muslin aprons "are worn by all ladies of taste; even the first Duchesses dress in this way "except at Court, and it will probably continue until winter when silks

*Mather Byles, jr., was the eldest son of Rev. Dr. Byles, who was rector of Trinity church, 1788-1814. At this time he was a clerk in the military offices in Halifax. He was very intimate with the Winslow family; was born in Boston in 1755. A few years after the above letter was written he went to Grenada and was commissary there. He married, June, 1797, Mary Bridgwater, eldest daughter of the chief justice of the island. He died at Grenada, Dec. 17, 1802, at the age of 38 years. His grandson, Mather Byles, visited St. John in 1889 as commander of H. M. S. Tourmaline.

"will be substituted. Hoops are entirely out of fashion." How different is this from the fantastic figures which have been exhibited here this summer. Some of the females who have lately arrived at this place from London, seem to exert all their talents to daub and finify those parts which require no ornament and to expose to view such other parts as nature seems to intend that every modest woman should conceal.

An immensity of False-Tops False Curls, monstrous Caps, Grease, Filth of various kinds, Jewels, Painted paper and trinkets, hide and deform heads of Hair that in their natural state are really beautiful. Rouge & other Dirt cover cheeks and faces that without would be tolerable, whilst the unfortunate neck and breasts remain open to the inclemency of the weather & the view of the World. The other parts of Dress are equally preposterous. A long party-colored Trail flows over a Hoop (that covers a rotundity of Hips sufficiently large without it) and sweeps along the ground behind, while the poor legs and knees are chilled with every blast which blows.

Take a woman rigged in this way, & she certainly is the most ridiculous thing in the world. Were the indulgence of this Fancy (as it's called) confined to those women that * * [5 lines missing.] But alas, it pervades other orders of women. Examples like Mrs. W——— & Mrs. B——— will be followed by the vain and giddy as well as by the vicious, perhaps in some instances without evil intentions. Among the errors which are committed in this world there is none more unpardonable than that of a modest woman's attempting to imitate the * * * [5 lines missing.] I have often thought and I believe it to be an absolute fact, that men (altho' they have not so much cunning as women) have more knowledge of the foibles of females, than the ladies have of theirs, and I certainly know that a strained attempt to exhibit or rather expose their charms is among the number of faults for which they are ridiculed with extreme severity.

Could a lady of good sense mix Incog, in a party of licentious and debauched men & listen to their conversation on this subject, she would be convinced that even these hold in derision such foolish women as attempt to gain their affections by putting on an appearance of wantonness & indecency. And she would also find that libertines reverence the external shew of innocence and virtue and (altho' they do not stammer at blasphemy and treason) they cannot speak with disrespect of a truly amiable & modest female character. If then these ladies are the objects of disgust with sensible men and the objects of ridicule with men of pleasure —their conquests must be confined to old Fools—young Fools & very empty coxcombs—and these are surely not worth the trouble.

Now I think I hear you exclaim—"What the deuce can have put my "husband all men in the world into this train of writing."

I'll tell you my precious Wife. First, negatively—(as the clergy say): It is not from an idea of increasing your abhorrence of such flirts. That I know to be impossible. I sometimes think your Ldayship errs a little upon the opposite extreme to that which I have described. From sixteen years old to the present time you have literally set your Cap at no creature on earth but me. Regardless of Fashion you have only endeavored by uniform cleanliness to make yourself desirable in my eyes, but I am not contented with this. I love you so well that I am always gratified when I see other people admire you, and (if Providence ever puts it in my power) you shall be as much distinguished for the elegance of your dress as you are for your constancy and fidelity.

That vagabond Murray has fairly disconcerted me by his impertinence.

"What are you writing?" (says he).

"A letter to your Mama."

"What, in that book?"

"Yes."

"You'd better stop your nonsense, I think."

"Why," says I, "don't you think Mama will be glad to read a whole book-full from me?"

"I don't know," he says, "Too much of one thing is good for nothing."

Did you ever hear such a varlet? Lest you should be of his mind, I'll leave off for a little.

Tuesday, 21st.

Mr. Dight has just called to acquaint me that he shall not set off till tomorrow, I gave him a letter of introduction to you yesterday. I'll endeavor to send this by him.

I am yet confined to my room, my right Foot & left arm in constant and violent pain. I shall come out one of these days so fair, so delicate, & genteel that I shall hardly be known by my old acquaintances. I never in my life experienced so severe a fit of the Gout. I however hope it will secure me good health for the remainder of the winter.

Master Murray made one of a party of pleasure yesterday a fishing, & he's taken cold and it's laughable enough to see the fuss that's made with him—one says, "The dear little creature's oppressed at his stomach" —another says "He's feverish," &c. If they don't hurt him by their nonsense I shall be glad. He is exactly as you have seen him a hundred times, stuffed at his stomach & wheezes, but I am sure that a drink of whey or something warm when he goes to bed will answer all the purpose. The rascal's laughing at them now.

You always thought My Mary that I did not love this precious boy so much as I ought to. How grossly are you mistaken. The idea of parting

with him is as painful to me as yourself, and I almost tremble when they tell me a ship will be ready to sail for England in a week or ten days. Yet I must and will be reconciled. When he is indisposed I cannot be at ease for a moment, and altho' he has now only a trifling cold, I cannot suppress my anxiety. Indeed Mama I will not allow that your affection for him is greater than my own. Since his arrival here he has quite captivated all his relations. For (altho' he will not be sociable in large parties of ladies, but acts on such occasions just as he used to,) yet whenever a company retires and the family & two or three friends form a circle of themselves, he is sure to afford a monstrous deal of real entertainment. He has this evening amused his aunts with a history of the whole family, and has given a character of all the children and servants & of almost everybody in the neighborhood, and he certainly does say some of the most extraordinary things that ever enter'd into the head of a child of his age. But I will not indulge you any farther on this subject, you are already too partial to this little Micmac. I'll now tell you a circumstance which I did not communicate in my last, because I thought it would give you some airs of triumph over me. I acknowledge myself mortify'd. I also acknowledge that you were right in some of your conjectures. After this concession you ought not to tieze me. I have been obliged to dismiss my friend Mr. Presley with his fair lady &c., and have taken into pay Mr. Tobias or George Oakman to take care of the horses. If I like his behaviour I'll keep him this winter, but he really seems a stupid creature. I however hope he will not cheat me. I hope you will very soon begin your preparation for carrying on the business which I chalked out in my last. Should I receive information of any appointment to my satisfaction at New Brunswick even after you have collected materials for repairing our house, we certainly could not lose much by them.

If events take place to prevent my going there, I shall first propose to General Campbell to permit me to spend the winter at Granville, because if I go with his leave I shall retain my pay of 10s. p. day, which with the emoluments is, in my present circumstances, a very great object. In that case I probably may not see you till the first of November. But should he refuse this request, I'll take French leave of him directly. Everything depends on my next intelligence from England. I yet do not despair (under the Rose) of going to St. John's this winter. But this idea must not hinder your utmost exertions about the House, for should we be disappointed we shall be in a terrible Box. [Four lines missing.]

Sally Miller (of whom he* is excessively fond) has not left him one moment. Dr. McIntire gave him some castor oil, which he says is the best thing in the world for Worms.

*Meaning little Murray.

Wednesday Morn'g 22d.

Murray is perfectly recovered; he is now deliberating where he shall dine today among a number of invitations. [4 lines missing.]

Mary, cannot you among the other improvements contrive to make a cellar or hole for vegetables? they are very convenient. I should think a very excellent one might be dug under the bank near where the first kitchen hut stood. It could not be attended with much labor or expence. it must be close sodded—there's plenty of sods all round, two or three men would finish it in a day. Try it. I find that the articles of Clothing &c., which I have purchased & procured here will fill eight or ten large packages. If I send 'em round what will you do with them? Is there room in any part of Mr. Redding's House? If there is not I'll let 'em remain here till Spring—altho' I would rather have 'em at home. Write me word whether you can stow 'em safely.

Austin Redding was here last evening he seems to be perfectly satisfy'd with his place & Prince is pleased with him. I inclose letters for his Brother & Sister. Murray desires his love to Dick & Tom & Katy & Sam & Ferdinand & Mama Redding & all of 'em—to be sure he's begun rather at the wrong end. Make mine at the same time. Give my love to Jack Robinson & Wright—tell the latter I hope he manages to keep that unfortunate servant of Hardenbrooke's a little indisposed yet. It would be a melancholy thing if she gets perfectly well.

Fearing that all other sources might fail I have sent 10 guineas by Mr. Dight. Manage it with extreme care. He informs me that he'll not be off till Fryday. What a strange business. I calculated to close my letter at 12 o'clock this day—& my whole book is finished. I swear I'll not write any more—but I solemnly swear that I am your devoted, faithful & affectionate

Husband,

Ed. Winslow.

Edward Winslow to His Wife.

[Letter written in book similar to preceding but double thickness. Cover and first six pages missing.]

[Halifax] Sept. 24, 1784.

What do you think of your young man Murray? I wrote for him a letter last evening. He has just been whispering in my ear that he wishes I would write another letter for him to his Mama. I told him I would tomorrow night. "Ay," (says he) "I don't want such an one as you wrote last night. I want one in a book—a whole book full, such an one as you write."

"Why," said I, "you pup—what have you to say to fill a volume?" "Get a book (says he) & I'll tell you. I have as much to say to Mama as you have, and I love Mama as well as you do, I'm hang'd if I don't."

Upon my honor I'm often puzzled to get rid of the fellow. I must send him off as soon as I can for the longer he stays, the more sincerely and affectionately am I attached to him.

I have had a very handsome present from Colonel Morse; a beautiful writing box with all the materials &c., &c., so convenient that I shall certainly keep it to myself.

I have had a tet-a-tete with old Forrest and he has expressed himself in such warm terms of friendship toward your ladyship that I am perfectly reconciled to him, and have lent him my Horse to ride half way to Windsor.

If you should be obliged to procure cloaths for John before you receive cloth from me, let 'em be of the colour I proposed in my last. I shall send by the ship a quantity of unmade green cloaths & white waistcoats which will last a great while & I dislike frequent changes of livery.

Gordon has this moment announced his intention of sending off an express tomorrow & I've just discovered that I have begun my letter in a double book, of course it can be fill'd.

Morris has paid a visit to Commodore Sir Charles Douglas this morning, and He has politely offered him a passage in either of the Transports which are now preparing to sail, and Gordon has also waited on him in behalf of Master Murray and he has made the same answer with respect to him. I am exceedingly gratify'd at it, and I have dispatched Morris to propose the matter to the Captain of the Sally, a fine large ship in which go as passengers, Col. Moore, Col. Brownton, Major Horne, & several others of my particular acquaintances. I have requested Robinson to make a bargain with the Captain to have a berth built in his own State Room, and that I will pay any expenses that may attend it. Every preparation is making for him to embark. I shall lay in every kind of stores. Wine, &c., and I have procured a servant to attend him on the passage. and I shall send with Morris money sufficient to answer all his purposes at his first landing. I have wrote particularly to Mr. Geyer* & Mr. Coffin and have requested their attention to him. I have also pointed out a method by which the expence of his education will be annually defrayed. The Gentlemen passengers have all in the genteelest manner proferred their services, especially Col. Morse: I shall hold myself eternally obliged to him for his uncommon civility on this delicate occasion.

Thus arranged my dear wife is this very important matter, and I now

*Frederick William Geyer was an old friend of Edward Winslow. He was at this time living in England.

feel a kind of consolation which is peculiar to a tender & affectionate parent and of which I wish you to partake, and which you will necessarily enjoy because it results from a consciousness of having performed a serious and important duty. You have parted with a precious boy—a son who not only contributed to your amusement, but who really discovers an uncommon degree of sensibility and gratitude. His manners and disposition attach even strangers to him. Were he of a contrary character there would be no merit in relinquishing him for a time. With all these good qualities I acknowledge that it requires great philosophy to reconcile one's self to a separation from him. And yet the consideration that he possesses them, makes it doubly incumbent on us to do him justice in his education. Should your motherly tenderness or weakness have prevented this sweet fellow from availing himself of the advantages now held out to him, and for want of proper attention to his education have turned out a Blackguard what remorse, what stings of conscience would you have felt.

We have now done all that God and our own consciences can require of us. If accidents happen to him we have nothing to answer for. Therefore Madam instead of fetching a sigh, join me in wishing him a good passage & let what will happen we will bear it handsomely. There's Christian like doctrine for you and faith Mary (whatever the world may say of me) when put to a severe test—I am a Christian. * * * [Mss. torn.] I (to be sure) once in a while leap the bounds of prudence and commit small irregularities, but I'm hang'd (as Murray says) if I don't do all the good I can. * * * [Mss. torn.]

Ed. Winslow.

My dear Mama,—

I love you dearly. How I shall long to see you when I get to England. I shall never forget you my dear Mama. I shall sail next week in the ship Sally—all my things are pack'd up. Papa has bought me a charming chest and Grandmama is to bake me a whole parcel of gingerbread and pyes, and they are to be put in the chest and my servant is to keep the key.

The Gentlemen will all be kind to me, and I shall be very comfortable. I wrote you last night and so I have nothing more to say—only my love to Pop and Tom, & little Pen & Kitty James.

I am, dear Mama,

Your loving & faithful son

Daniel Murray Winslow.

[Signature made apparently by pen in child's fingers guided by father.]

I relate these little dialogues almost word for word as they are spoken, and altho' one half the world will laugh at the nonsense & folly of such repetitions yet you my beloved wife will receive some pleasure from them. Parents who feel as we do will naturally experience agreeable sensations at

the relation of every circumstance which concerns our dear little ones, however trifling they are in themselves.

Miss Kitty Taylor (who is one of the most amiable girls in the whole world & is vastly fond of Murray) has been for an hour almost, endeavouring to prevail on Murray to kiss her, which he has steadily refused; at last under a pretence of whispering to him, she has given him a very loud smack. "O hang it," says Murray, "Tis not so bad as I thought it was, now you may kiss me as much as you have a mind to." The whole company are now in a roar laughing at him, Marston among the rest, whose fondness for Murray has made him dearer to me than ever. Murray is with him half the day and he is constantly collecting nuts, apples, &c, for him.

I am monstrously anxious for the arrival of an express, not a word from you since Murray's arrival. Thompson has not yet determined when he will return. I will if possible prevail on him to wait until a packet arrives, which must be within a week or ten days unless the Devil's in 'em. I have been hourly in expectation of Mr. Matthews. He certainly must have sailed at least 8 weeks ago. And by Chippy's letter, Ludlow and him were to sail early in August; they also certainly must be along soon. There has not been an arrival from any quarter since I wrote you by John (except from New England). All the great people of Halifax, men and women, have been and are still flocking to the states to visit their rebel brethren and I dare say their congratulations and embraces are very cordial. The Devil kiss 'em all together.

. Mama. This is really an omnium gatherum kind of an epistle. I don't care, you'll be so good as to peruse all your volumes very attentively and forward to me plain & unequivocal answers to all the questions contained in them. I don't mean that you should imitate me in prolixity. I will not permit any man or woman on the face of the earth to equal me in evincing my affection. It is as much superior, as much purer than the common run of people's, as my letters are longer than the cold short letters of transient acquaintances.

I am yet confined to my room with the Gout, and altho' I am surrounded by a multitude of friends, and incumbered with an infinite variety of business, I steal my opportunities and dash away page after page to you my best loved and amiable Wife. I do not regard how incoherent—how incorrect they are. You love to hear me talk, altho' a portion of my conversation may not be entertaining, & I am sure that you have some pleasure in reading every line I write.

I have this day for the first time this fortnight ventured to put on a coat and shoes—my leg and arm continue very much swelled but I am

prodigiously relieved, & anticipate the pleasure of enjoying the fresh air in a very few days. Really wife I have had a terrible time.

Good night

God bless you

[Continued.] E. W.

Friday. 25. Sepr 1784.

It is not possible for any pen or tongue to describe the variety of wretchedness that is at this time exhibited in the streets of this place, and God knows I am obliged to hear a large proportion of it. This is what we call a board day, & the yard in front of my House has been crowded since eight o'clock with the most miserable objects that ever were beheld.

As if there was not a sufficiency of such distress'd objects already in this country the good people of England have collected a whole ship load of all kinds of vagrants from the streets of London, and sent them out to Nova Scotia.* Great numbers died on the passage of various disorders—the miserable remnant are landed here and have now no cover but tents. Such as are able to crawl are begging for a proportion of provisions at my door. Two other ships were loading with the same kind of cargoes. Heaven only knows what will become of 'em. As soon as we get rid of such a sett as these, another little multitude appears of old crippled Refugees, men and women who have seen better days. Some of 'em tell me they formerly knew me, they have no other friend to depend upon and they solicit in language so emphatical and pathetic, that 'tis impossible for any man whose heart is not callous to every tender feeling, to refuse their requests.

Next to them perhaps comes an unfortunate set of Blackies begging for Christ's sake that Masser would give 'em a little provision if it's only for one week. "He wife sick; He children sick; and He will die if He have not some." I am illy calculated for such services. These applications make an impression on my mind which is vastly disagreeable. I cannot forget them. It is not possible to relieve all their distresses. I long to retreat from such scenes. My views are humble, I ask no more than a competency to support myself, my wife, and children decently and to live and enjoy them I care not where. This has hitherto been out of my power but I flatter myself that the time is not far distant when I shall be gratify'd in this first wish of my heart.

Among the most persevering solicitors which I have met with is your old Townsman, fellow passenger & friend, Thomas Edwards Esq: As regularly as the day comes—comes Thomas Edwards, and he always prefaces his application by telling me what a wonderful affection he has for you and

*This statement is confirmed by Murdoch in his History of Nova Scotia. See Vol. III., pp. 34, 35.

the children; and then he hopes the Colonel will order him cloaths, shoes, provisions, blankets, medicines, &c, &c, &c. I have this morning sat down by him with a pencil, and have taken down the several articles which he requests, and I have told him that I would give him an order to receive every one of them on the single consideration that he should not on any pretence whatever make me another visit till he embarks for England. To this he has solemnly agreed, and we have shaken hands and I have most sincerely wished him a good and quick passage, and that he may find such a reception in England as will effectually prevent the necessity of his returning to this country.

By the way, since I am on the subject of Rations, you have heard that by the late orders the Loyalists are to receive only two thirds allowance of provisions from the first of last May, but the disbanded officers and soldiers are to receive a full allowance to the 24th of October. In the settlement of your account with Mr. Williams* you are to consider yourself as a disbanded Muster-Master-General, & of course will draw full rations for yourself and family to the 24th of October. There can be no difficulty on the subject, but I would settle with Mr. Williams to that period after which you will share the same fate as your neighbors and be at two thirds allowance. * * *

Robinson & Gordon are now employed in fixing Murray's berth and regulating matters for his passage. If he had been Gordon's own and only son he could not have been more engaged and interested for him.

1 o'clock.

We have this moment heard of an arrival at Shelburne. I'll be in the fidgits till I hear particulars.

What can I have written in fifty pages? I swear I would not read it for 50 shillings.

Our sister Sally says that that painted ribband would be a most elegant trimming for a White Shawl. If you think so I'll buy one and send you.

Adieu my dearest Mary,

Everlastingly Yours

Ed. Winslow.

William Garden to Edward Winslow.

St. Ann's, 25th Sep'r, 1784.

Dear Sir,—I have lately received two letters of Instruction from Mr. Brinley couched in such a manner as gives me satisfaction & for which I

*That is for the rations furnished.

will suppose myself indebted to you. I want words to express the sense I have of all your favors—be assured I shall ever remember them with gratitude.

The General's appointment* and Mr. Brinley's letters, leave me in the dark as to my pay, will you have the goodness to fix that for me?

I have wrote to Mr. Brinley by this opportunity that I have employed Mr. Monson Hayt as Clerk, and a man as cooper and issuer, and I hope he will make a generous allowance for them. The public buildings are in great forwardness, one of the provision stores will be fit for the reception of Provisions next week. We are greatly mortified that General Fox is not coming out Gov'r. I beg my most respectful compliments to General Campbell and Cap'n Addenbrooke, & I am, Dear Sir,

Your most obd't & much obliged
humble serv't,

Wm. Garden.

Thomas Knox to Edward Winslow.

Fort Howe, 25th Sept., 1784.

Sir,—I enclose you a General Return of the numbers of Persons of all descriptions who have been mustered by me within the District of St. John's River, and to whom I have given certificates on the Asst. Commissary Gen'l at this Post for the Royal Bounty of Provisions as Settlers in His Majesty's Provinces of Nova Scotia, which I beg you will be pleased to lay before the Commander in Chief.

From this Return some deductions will be made by me as unworthy the favor of Government.

I wrote to you by Governor Wentworth and enclosed copies of two letters to Mr. Hecht with some general regulations to be observed in settling with the different Corps and Classes. This business is nearly finished, but it has been attended with great difficulty on account of overdrawings by former Returns, and has occasioned my long delay; a delay

*That is William Garden's appointment as commissary at Fredericton. He lived on the corner of Queen and Church streets (opposite the Cathedral); the house is still standing, and occupied by Robert G. Wetmore. Wm. Garden was in business partnership with William Donaldson of St. John. They supplied those engaged in lumbering, &c. Mr. Garden's property in Kingsclear—where he lived later—was just above Judge Winslow's, rather more than a mile above Phyllis Creek. On a little stream there he built a mill. In the old plans in the crown land office this is marked "Pierre Paul Creek." The Gardens brought with them from New York an old slave named Dinah. William Garden died in 1812, aged 63 years. His son, Hugh Mackay Garden, married a Miss Gale, sister of the late Mrs. Wm. H. Needham. Another son, Nelson Garden, married a Miss Cunliffe of Woodstock, and a daughter married a Dibblee. All these, with their mother, are buried in the old parish church yard at Woodstock, not far from the last resting place of their old friend and neighbor, Sheriff Winslow.

which I hope will not impress the Commander in Chief with an unfavorable opinion of my assiduity and exertions to close the Business on which I was sent, and which must have been left in a very unfinished state had I returned before. * * *

My business being so far closed I shall take the first opportunity that offers for Annapolis to cross the Bay and return to Halifax.

I am sir, &c.

Thomas Knox,
Dy. Com'y of Musters.

Edward Winslow to Captain Frink.

Halifax, Sept'r 30th, 1784.

Sir,—I received your letter of the 15th instant, with the memorial inclosed.

It is now reduced to an absolute certainty that the St. John's side the Bay of Fundy is formed into a Government, and since Governor Parr has received official intelligence of that event, he has repeatedly declined making any new arrangements, or giving any new grants in that district. I therefore thought best to return your memorial that you may avail yourself of the earliest opportunity to make your application to the new Governor, who may be expected every hour at St. John's.

Indeed I should have been but a bad advocate for you with the present Governor of Nova Scotia, it not being any part of my ambition to be ranked among that order of men who are distinguished by marks of His Excellency's favor.

I shall always with alacrity embrace any opportunity to render services to any of my old friends of the Provincial Regiments.

I am, Sir, Your very humble Servant,

Ed. Winslow.

Capt. Frink,
Carleton, St. Johns.

Edward Winslow to Major John Coffin.

Halifax, October 4th, 1784.

My dear Fellow,—I do not deserve abuse for not writing you since my return to this place. The strange variety of reports which have prevailed here since the last packet arrived have rendered the news respecting the arrangements for this country so inexplicably mysterious that we know not what to depend on. At first it was supposed an indisputable fact that Col. Carleton had embarked with his subordinate civil officers agreeable

to the list which I sent you. * * * A letter from Chipman hints "that the present arrangement may not be permanent." Accustomed as I am to plain English language, I am unable to construe these enigmatical, political conundrums, and I literally do not know who is Governor, Secretary or anything else. It is however agreed on all hands that you are to have these kind of officers immediately. And at this I acknowledge myself gratified, and with the same degree of candour I confess that I shall be disappointed unless they have pointed out some decent employment for me, because it is the first object of my wishes to settle among you. If it turns out otherwise, and in this as in former instances I have beat the Bush for others, I will make myself tolerably easy, for altho' my present situation is not perfectly agreeable to my mind, it has its advantages.

Until I hear further I must suspend all serious operations on your side the Bay. I cannot think of building a house there for my mother & sisters unless I am to reside there myself. You shall have the earliest information of an arrival, and of the news when its reduced to a certainty. I will send an express to you and you must take your measures accordingly. A multitude of people are coming out, and by all accounts there are a great number of candidates for almost every office that's worth holding. * * *

I thank you cordially for the warmth with which you express your desire for us to take up our residence in your country. I have not (for twelve months past) built a castle or anticipated a pleasure but what has centered there, and my predilection has arisen principally from the consideration that I should there enjoy the society of those friends for whom I have the greatest affection.

I am perfectly of your opinion with respect to our friend Aplin, but having already given him my sentiments explicitly on the subject without any effect, I must leave him to pursue his own plan. * * * Altho' he is a good fellow in some respects he certainly is a very poor devil in others.

Accept my best acknowledgments for a late instance of attention to my wife. I regret on her account that I do not remove to St. Johns this winter—because I am sure it would be more agreeable than her present situation and (however unfashionable the sentiment may be) I am not ashamed to affirm that to make her comfortable is an object of the first importance in my mind. To my shame she has had a larger proportion of mortifications than she deserved, and by Heaven she shall never feel another if I can prevent it. My boy Murray embarks tomorrow for England in a ship with Col's Morse, Brownlow, Armstrong, Major Horne and Morris Robinson. He's to be put to school in the country.

Hazen announces his intention of setting off this evening, to him I refer you for any further news. Sister Sally writes Mrs. Coffin—remember me affectionately to her and the young Buck, and believe me

Most sincerely yours

Ed. Winslow.

Major John Coffin,
River St. Johns.

Edward Winslow to Charles McEvers.

Halifax, October 4th, 1784.

Dear Sir,—Your letter of the 13th of June reached me while I was on a tour to the outposts, and before I returned to this place your friend Mr. Wilkins had gone to Shelburne, which prevented me the pleasure of paying him that attention which his merit and your recommendation entitle him to. Should any future opportunity offer to render a service or shew a civility to him or his family I shall embrace it with alacrity.

In answer to your kind enquiries respecting my present situation I have to tell you that I hold the appointment of Military Secretary for the district of Nova Scotia, an employment not so enviable for its emoluments as for the frequent opportunities it affords of relieving the distresses of the unfortunate. I have been obliged to reside principally at Halifax, and I had the consolation to provide a comfortable shelter and support for my good old father and his family until God Almighty was pleased to take him from us. My mother and sisters yet remain here.

My wife and family are in a snug box at a place called Granville near Annapolis. I have leased a farm there in a delightful situation & a good neighbourhood, and I spend as much of my time there as my business will admit. Your old friend Mary is as happy as I can make her. I lost my sweet little boy "Chip" soon after my arrival in this country, and I've had a fine daughter since. My eldest Buck, Murray, embarks tomorrow for England.

We are in daily expectation of the arrival of a Governor and the other civil officers for the new province formed on the north side the Bay of Fundy, called New Brunswick. As soon as the business is fairly arranged I shall, I hope, take up my abode there. I have explored the country very faithfully and I am perfectly satisfied that it must become of great importance. We have certain intelligence that the Judge [Ludlow], Col. Ludlow, D. Matthews,* Upham, Chipman and many others are preparing to come out. I hope when we are all collected that you will be anxious to pay us a visit. I am sure it will contribute to your health, and I flatter

*David Matthews in 1766 was Mayor of the City of New York. After the war he was President of the Council and Commander-in-Chief of the Island of Cape Breton.

myself that you will find a jolly set of fellows, who (if they do not enjoy immense wealth) are neither oppressed by enormous impositions, or insulted by impertinent Black-Guards.

Let me assure you (after presenting my respects to your family) that there is not a man on earth who would more sincerely rejoice to see you, than your faithful and affectionate Friend,

Ed. Winslow.

Charles McEvers, N. York.

Edward Winslow to Mrs. Frances Ludlow.

Halifax, October 4th, 1784.

Madam,—A long absence from this place has prevented an earlier acknowledgment of the receipt of your letter. As soon as possible after I had perused its contents I sought & found the modest unfortunate Mr. Clements, and permit me to assure you that I have experienced a peculiar and a double satisfaction in my endeavours to alleviate his misfortunes from a consideration that I was not only performing an act of benevolence, but was at the same time obeying your command. I have secured the Bounty of Provisions to Mr. Clements and his Family, and I have advised him to remain in his present situation until the arrangements for the new province are compleated, and then to make application for a grant in that country, where I hope men of Integrity & virtue will be more certain of rewards than they are in this.

Late letters from England give me cause to anticipate the pleasure of seeing Mrs. Colonel Ludlow & yourself in this country, in which I flatter myself you will be agreeably disappointed.

May you long enjoy without interruption the society of your family & friends is very ardently the prayer of Madam

Your most obed't, h'ble servt,

Ed. Winslow.

Mrs. Frances Ludlow, New York.

Lieut. John Robinson to Edward Winslow.

Annapolis Oct'r 4th, 1784.

Dear Colonel,—You may depend upon my giving Mrs. Winslow all the assistance in my power in repairing the house. I hope we shall be able to make it very comfortable. We have agreed that grates will not answer; the only coal you can get here is from the Commissary which is exceedingly bad, and you cannot burn it in the kitchen. We intend to make false backs to the fire places in the house and to build an oven out of doors. The kitchen chimney I am afraid must come down.

I am very sorry that you have had so disagreeable a companion as the Gout, and hope ere this you have got rid of him. My compliments to the Major and Byles.

I am, Dear Sir,
Your most ob't Friend & Servt.
John Robinson.

Edward Winslow to George Leonard.

Halifax, 5th October, 1784.

D'r. Leonard,— * * I acknowledge that I enjoy the chagrine which is apparent in the countenances of the Nabobs of Nova Scotia on this occasion. They have (until official letters reached his Excellency) affected to ridicule the idea of a separate government as absurd and romantic; they are now certain it is a reality and to their confusion they find that its limits extend to the County of Cumberland & that the most valuable part of that county is included in the province of New Brunswick. A remonstrance (patronized by his Excellency and signed by a class of gentry not remarkable for their Loyalty, viz, Uniacke the Solicitor, Mr. Cochran, Allan and other absentee proprietors) has been transmitted to England setting forth the inconvenience that will arise from this boundary. It has been managed in the same secret, silent way in which business of this kind has been usually conducted in Nova Scotia, and (altho' I am perfectly satisfied that the boundary is irrevocably fixed) I have taken some pains not only to counteract these men—but to characterize them. * * *

Present my best respects to Mrs. Leonard & the young Ladies and believe me,

Very sincerely yours,
Ed. Winslow.

Geo. Leonard, Esq, St. Johns.

S. Jarvis to Ward Chipman.

London, 11th October, 1784.

Dear Sir,—I hope this will meet you safe arrived with his Excellency (Gov. Carleton) after an agreeable passage, and that you find everything to your liking.

Mr. Coffin has sent out in the "Hermione," Captain Carge, Col. Winslow's Father's grave stone* to him under care of Mr. D'l Hammill. * *

S. Jarvis.

*This stone may be seen in the old St. Paul's burial ground in Halifax. The inscription will be found in the introductory pages of this book. It has been recently recut on the stone at Halifax.

Memorial of Stephen Jarvis.*

To His Excellency Thomas Carleton, Esq'r, Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over the Province of New Brunswick, &c, &c, &c.

The Memorial of Stephen Jarvis, Lieutenant in the late South Carolina Royalists, Most Humbly Sheweth:—

That your Memorialist after being disbanded at Halifax in November, 1783, embraced the first opportunity of going to New England for his family. That after his arrival in that country he was Mobbed, his family ill treated, and he obliged to relinquish his business and return to this country leaving his family dangerously ill from the insults of the Rebels. That on the fifth of October, 1784, he made a second attempt and after encountering many difficulties he arrived with his family at St. John the beginning of May last.

Memorialist on making application to Mr. Knox for provisions for himself and servant it was refused him on account of the scarcity of provisions then in the province. Your Memorialist most humbly prays that as he has been a great sufferer for the promotion of the settlement in this Province, he may be allowed provisions for himself and servant from the first of November, 1784, to the first of May, 1785; and Your Memorialist as in duty bound will ever pray.

S. Jarvis.

[The above is endorsed by Edward Winslow, "Complied with by the Governor."]

Thomas Knox to Major General Campbell.
Mr. Knox's Report.

Halifax, 3d Nov., 1784.

Sir,—I have the honor to inform you that immediately on receipt of your Instructions to repair to St. John's River and Muster the Disbanded Corps and Companies of Loyalists in that District, I lost no time in preparing to execute the Business.

On the day of my arrival there I posted up in the most conspicuous parts of Parr and Carleton, printed advertisements as the most effectual means of publishing the purpose for which I was sent, and invited the Commanding officers of Corps and Captains of Companies to consult with me in what manner the Business might be effected with most conveniency to the People.

From the very dispersed state of the new Settlers and the occasional necessity of going considerable distances to see Individuals whose former

*Stephen Jarvis afterwards went to Upper Canada, and died at Toronto in 1840, at the age of 84 years. He was for some time postmaster at Fredericton. See his letter under date July 10th, 1800, in this book.

condition in life, ill health, or domestic avocations would not admit of their attendance on the days of Public Muster—I was soon convinced of the impracticability of assembling them in regular corps, and that no delay on my part might encrease the distress of the People, whose calls for a supply of Provisions were immediate, I determined to proceed in the muster of such as were able to attend in the Towns of Parr and Carleton (where the Majority then were) and give orders for their Provisions before I embarked for the River and its Branches, leaving till my return the task of inspecting and correcting the abuses which had been practised on Government, and which already appeared numerous.

As soon as this was effected I proceeded up the River St. John, sending forward advertisements specifying the Districts and, as nearly as the nature of my conveyance would admit, the time when I should attend. The removal of whole families [to the place of muster] occasioned great inconvenience to the Settlers and in some instances expence. I therefore submitted to themselves to appoint the place in a District of every five miles most suitable to their own convenience. And in order to contribute every facility to the future mode of drawing their Provisions and to remove the necessity of their attending Individually on the days appointed for them to attend in Town, which had occasioned great loss of time to the injury of the settlement, I took upon me to remove them from the Companies to which they before belonged & classed them in Neighbourhoods under men of character of their own nomination, by which means the attention of a few only became requisite to execute the business of the whole.

I found on the Main River from the entrance to St. Anns Point, a distance of near 90 miles, a very considerable number of new settlers intermixed with the old—and many even for a distance of fifty miles beyond it. The inconveniences to which they were subjected from the necessity of drawing their Provisions at the mouth of the River had determined me to extend my Report to the particular hardships of their situation, and the general injury sustained by the settlements; but that intention is now superceded by your late order to establish a Magazine of Provisions at St. Anns Point, which from its situation will not only accommodate the settlers on the River, but the numerous Branches which lead from it in the neighborhood of that Post, and must, at least, have the effect of removing every ground of complaint on the part of the People.

I now enclose a General Return of the total number of Persons of all descriptions who have been mustered by me on the River Saint John, and who have received my certificates on the Asst. Commissary there for the Royal Bounty of Provisions as Settlers in His Majesty's Province of Nova Scotia.

As soon as the business of mustering the People was finished I applied to that of examining my Returns, and on comparing them with those by which Provisions had been before issued, I found that it was in practice with many of the officers of the Corps to draw for nominal servants ad libitum, that many among the Refugees as well as Soldiery had practised and still claimed the right of drawing for absent families who were expected in the Province—and that a considerable quantity of Provisions had been drawn for Persons in double capacities. * * * I enclose a Return of some of the Disbanded Corps by which Provisions were drawn before the muster, which when compared with my General Return of those corps will shew an essential difference. It is not possible to exhibit the differences as regards the Loyal Refugees in the same comparative view, on account of the frequent interchanges among them, and the irregular manner in which Provisions had been necessarily issued to those who were not enrolled in companies.

I enclose a list of Families to whom I have granted two months Provisions as a donation from Government. They consist of old Inhabitants who from involuntary causes have been reduced to circumstances of great distress. Certificates of good character, supported by favorable recommendations were in these cases required by me, and those only who were able to procure them were admitted to consideration—of this number are many who have been some years settled on the River and who have lately been obliged to relinquish their possessions and improvements in favor of Refugees to whom they are allotted.

In the whole of my Proceedings I have endeavoured to preserve the Rights of the People and to guard against impositions to which Government was exposed. Such only as were entitled in their own right have received my certificates—among these I considered disbanded officers & soldiers without a question, and Loyalists who from an attachment to His Majesty's Government had abandoned the United States and decided to continue his subjects in this Province. Every other description of Persons have been rejected by me as having no claim.

In the anxious expectation that my earnest endeavours to execute this Business with fidelity and despatch will secure to me your approbation.

I am, &c.,

Thos. Knox, D'y Com'y of Musters.

Note by the Editor. The two returns that follow afford material for some interesting comparisons. The summary at the bottom of the second table shows that of the corps sent to be disbanded on the St. John river quite a number were excluded from the royal bounty of provisions as not being settled upon their lands. Of the men, about 200 were struck off the

list for this cause, and a lesser percentage of the women. There was, as might naturally have been expected, a small increase in the number of children under ten. The muster master, however, made his chief saving to government by striking off the roll a large number of servants, many of whom he declares were only "nominal." Those for example in the 1st Batt. New Jersey Volunteers were reduced from 35 to 9; in the 2nd Batt. of same corps from 36 to 14; in the 1st Batt. DeLancey's Brigade, from 37 to 15; in the Loyal American Regiment, from 46 to 8.

Return of the total numbers of Men, Women and Children of the Disbanded Corps and Loyalists mustered on the River St. John who have received Certificates for the Royal Bounty of Provisions:

Corps.	Men.	Women.	Children over ten.	Children under ten.	Servants.	Total.
New York Volunteers	73	18	21	10	12	134
North Carolina Do.	17	3	..	..	5	25
Loyal Americans	95	39	45	32	8	219
American Legion	57	19	8	13	11	108
Queens Rangers	210	64	22	42	23	361
Pennsylvania Loyalists	36	14	..	8	5	63
Maryland Loyalists	43	3	1	2	3	52
Guides and Pioneers	93	31	21	25	6	176
1st Batt. New Jersey Vols.	158	57	57	39	9	320
2nd Do. Do.	132	45	44	38	14	273
3rd Do. Do.	173	64	47	42	6	332
Prince of Wales's	152	39	22	15	33	261
Garrison Battalion	8	3	1	1	1	14
Fencible Americans	45	14	17	27	0	103
Kings Amer. Dragoons.	143	39	19	24	6	231
1st Batt. De Lancey's	108	32	19	20	15	194
2d Batt. De Lancey's	107	32	15	29	15	198
Kings Amer. Regt.	144	35	68	28	18	293
Kings Orange Rangers	59	14	..	12	0	85
So. Car. Royalists	19	16	9	13	3	60
Loyal New Englanders.	5	4	8	1	0	18
British Regiments	199	48	17	43	0	307
Loyal Refugees	1966	1028	1159	949	248	5350
Black Companies.	89	58	9	26	0	182
Total	4131	1719	1630	1438	441	9359

Fort Howe Sept 25, 1784.

Thomas Knox, D'y Commissary of Musters.

Return of the Total number of Men, Women and Children drawn for by the Provincial Corps previous to the Muster:

Corps.	Men.	Women	Children over ten.	Children under ten.	Servants.	Total.
Queens Rangers	222	66	21	41	47	397
1st Batt'n N. J. Vols.	171	61	63	41	35	371
2d Do.	135	49	55	23	36	298
3d Do.	101	32	34	16	6	189
1st B'n of De Lanceys	127	32	26	21	37	243
2d Do.	121	34	29	11	20	215
Loyal Americans	108	46	49	40	46	289
Fencible Americans	116	33	20	51	19	239
Kings Am'n Dragoons	194	43	24	23	32	316
Kings Amer. Reg't	153	47	79	22	44	345
Kings Orange Rangers	93	20	2	17	..	132
Prince of Wales Amer Regt.	157	65	54	23	56	355
N. York Volunteers & So. Car. Royalists	110	30	34	11	32	217
Guides & Pioneers	106	29	25	23	21	204
American Legion	60	18	9	12	13	112
Pennsylvania Loyalists	38	13	..	9	13	73
Maryland Loyalists	47	6	2	1	16	72
Total	2059	624	526	385	473	4067
Knox's muster	1847	575	436	418	187	3463

Edward Winslow to Brig. Gen. Fox.

Halifax 5th November, 1784.

Dear Sir,—I avail myself of the earliest opportunity to acknowledge the receipt of your letters by Mr. Chipman. Before his arrival we had heard of your determination to decline the Government of New Brunswick and I had anticipated the reasons (in my own mind) and reconciled myself to the event. The arrangements made for that country are so perfectly judicious, and the public officers appointed there are men of such unblemished integrity and capital abilities that it cannot fail of becoming the envy of the neighboring states, and the consideration compensates me for any personal disappointment which I may have experienced.

I shall refer you to my friends Judge Ludlow, Mr. Odell, &c, for the particulars of my own conduct — to them I appeal with confidence, and I flatter myself that they will do me the justice to acknowledge that I have persevered with unremitted industry & disinterested zeal.

Your friendly answer to the illiberal insinuations in the extraordinary letter addressed to you [by Gov. Parr] has excited the most grateful sensations. I will not make use of any harsh expressions on the occasion; I only regret that a man in an exalted station could descend to such indecent and unjust suggestions. The polite attention which has been shewn me by Gov'r Carleton convinces me that no disagreeable impressions have been made on his mind. He has suggested a wish that I would attend at the opening of the Council at New Brunswick, and I have (with unfeigned alacrity) consented. Chipman, Hailes & myself will set off as soon as the St. Lawrence sails—My sister takes passage by her.

I suppose General Haldimand has ere this arrived in England — possibly that may forward the arrangement as at first proposed. Should Col. Carleton be removed to Canada I presume (from various circumstances) Mr. Odell will go with him, and in that case I hope for your friendly exertions to obtain the secretaryship for me. I will still indulge myself in the pleasing expectation of seeing you in this country. I will not pretend to advise on a subject of so much importance. Allow me to offer the most cordial and grateful acknowledgements for the repeated instances of friendship & attention which I have experienced from you, and to assure you that I am most devotedly & faithfully

Yours,

Ed. Winslow.

[P. S.] I have delivered the Roan to Governor Carleton. If he does not incline to take him across the Bay I will keep him at Granville. He is in elegant order.

The Hon'ble Col. Fox, 38th Reg't.

London.

Edward Winslow to Brook Watson.

Halifax, 5th Nov'r, 1784.

Permit me once more, my dear Sir, to offer my most grateful acknowledgements for the uncommon attention and friendly assistance which you have afforded to my late father's unfortunate family. In pursuance of your advice my sister Sally will embark in the St. Lawrence and will take such proofs, documents, &c, as you have recommended. By her I shall write fully.

You are right sir, with respect to the arrangements at New Brunswick. I affirm (without any affectation of disinterestedness) that they are perfectly satisfactory to me, and I flatter myself that the gentlemen who have lately arrived here are satisfied that my zeal & exertions have not abated in consequence of my failing to obtain what I acknowledge was the first wish of my heart. On the contrary I have persevered in endea-

vors to collect every species of useful information relative to the country and have frankly communicated it to Mr. Odell & my other friends. I am now preparing, at the request of Gov'r Carleton, to set off for New Brunswick that I may be present at the first attempt to organize the Government. In this important work I shall exert every talent I possess, and I shall be fully compensated if my conduct shall meet your approbation.

I have taken deliberate & I hope effectual measures to attain such authenticated accounts as you require in your letter. As soon as I can collect 'em they shall be forwarded. At any rate they shall be sent in season to be made use of in the important business which you with such patriotism and zeal have engaged in, and on the result of which (in my idea) depends the fate of this country. The sudden departure of the Bonetta prevents my enlarging.

I have taken the liberty of inclosing a General Return which I have collected with some pains. By my sister I shall forward my remarks & a number of other papers.

Allow me to subscribe myself

Your most obliged & obedient

Friend & Serv't,

Ed. Winslow.

Brook Watson, Esq., M. P.

London.

Lieut. John Robinson to Edward Winslow.

Granville, Nov'r 6th, 1784.

Dear Colonel,—After many disappointments we have at length got the chimney altered. We should not have been able to effect it, if Capt'n Parker had not lent us a mason at Major Thompson's request. We hope to have everything done before your arrival here which we expect will be in a week at farthest. * * *

All the family are well. I am Dear Col.

Most sincerely yours,

John Robinson.

Edward Winslow to Brook Watson.

Halifax, 12th November, 1784.

Sir,—In my last by the Bonetta I enclosed a General Return of Disbanded officers & soldiers & other Loyalists who have lately become settlers in the province of Nova Scotia & New Brunswick and who are entitled to the Royal Bounty of Provisions. I now inclose a Duplicate of that Return and a number of original letters from the muster-masters of the different Districts.

Before I proceed to any particular remarks it will be necessary for me to communicate certain facts respecting the progress of this country, and I am gratify'd that your obliging letter has given me a fair opportunity of endeavoring to convince you that my conduct has been regulated by principles of honour & zeal for the public service.

Among my various duties none has been productive of more perplexity to me than the establishment of a system for the proper distribution of the Royal Bounty of provisions to Loyalists, &c. Every man who arrived in this country called himself a Loyalist and presumed that he was entitled to the Rations of provisions for himself & his family, and they applied for orders without an idea that any scrutiny could possibly be made either into their circumstances or character, or supposing any conditions required on their part.

General Fox, whose decrees were dictated by justice in every instance, considered that it could not be his Majesty's intention to extend his favors to the wealthy or to the vicious & indolent. He therefore peremptorily decided against issuing provisions to persons of those descriptions. When General Campbell succeeded to the command he pursued the same idea and instituted a Board for examining the claims of persons applying for the Royal Bounty. The order for their appointment with their Instructions is No. 1 of the inclosed papers. By the exertions of this Board many abuses were corrected and all the idle vagrants, who had been loitering about the streets of the metropolis & were daily committing irregularities, were by being precluded from the bounty of provisions forced to take possession of their lands, & on producing certificates of their being actual settlers they were restored to the enjoyment of their rations.

No. 2 is Instructions to a second Board with some improvements on the plan. At this Board I volunteered as a member. A few days experience convinced me of the necessity of extreme caution in the discharge of this duty. I feared that a rage for reformation might lead us to harsh and unequitable decisions, and I saw that we were deceived by false & erroneous returns from the distant settlements. In this dilemma I suggested the method of parcelling out the province into districts and appointing persons of activity & judgment to muster all the men, women & children who had actually become settlers. I considered that, exclusive of the object of detecting abuses, they would make discoveries sufficiently important to Government to recompence for the small expense incurred by the appointments. That they would find out the precise number and disposition of settlers & their present situations, and as no steps were taken by the civil authority to ascertain these facts I thought it doubly incumbent on the General. The Returns of the several muster-masters are I believe as accurate as possible & altho' the observations contained in their

letters may not be very important, still they may afford some information. By these papers you will see, Sir, that I have endeavored as far as possible to make the Bounty of Government subservient to the purposes of assisting the civil magistrates — encouraging industry, and contributing to the settlement of the country. * * I communicate these details from the same principle that I have related every other transaction of importance since I had the pleasure of knowing you — simply to give you proofs that I am honestly devoted to the service of my country & have thereby some claim to its protection & favor.

The Muster-masters invariably take notice of the extraordinary delays in making the grants to the new settlers. To investigate the causes of those delays would be an invidious & unpleasant task, but the consequences are serious. Had the lands been laid out immediately on the arrival of the settlers (and this was certainly practicable) fifteen of the thirty thousand people who are now receiving rations of provisions would [The remainder of this valuable letter unfortunately is wanting; four leaves having been torn out of Winslow's letter book at this point.]

Leave of Absence & Instructions to Edward Winslow.

Head Q'rs. Halifax, 13th Nov'r, 1784.

Sir,— His Excellency Colonel Thomas Carleton having represented to me that your attendance at the opening of His Majesty's Council at New Brunswick, of which you are a Member, will be very beneficial for the service, and being desirous to do everything in my power which may promote the good of that Province, I do hereby grant you leave of absence for that purpose and you will return to this place as soon as the nature of your duty will permit you. And I am to request that during your absence you would endeavor precisely to ascertain the extent and limits of such lands as have been originally reserved for the crown, or have been purchased from the inhabitants by Government for publick uses at the different outposts which you may have occasion to pass through, and if on enquiry you find that any encroachments have been made on such lands, or that the rights of the crown have in any instance been evaded, you will report the same to me.

You will also enquire into the nature of the expenditure of the different departments at the several outposts, and if you perceive that any unnecessary expences are incurred, or any irregularities committed, you will make me acquainted therewith. And you will from time to time report to me such circumstances as you may think worthy of communication.

You will act as a member of the Provision Boards established at the several places, and you will suggest such methods of reform as you shall

think expedient for the good of his Majesty's service. And you will also endeavor to obtain from His Excellency Governor Carleton a grant of land for the proprietors of the land occupied by Government at Fort Howe, conformable to the agreement entered into with them when I was at St. Johns.

Given under my Hand at Halifax this 13th of Nov'r, 1784.

John Campbell,
M. Gen'l.

Edward Winslow to Benjamin Marston.

Mount Necessity* 24th Nov'r, 1784.

Dear Marston.— After thumping, swimming, wallowing & tumbling for four days, I landed at my home on Saturday evening, & was amply recompensed for all my fatigues & perils by finding my wife & little ones in perfect health.

A touch of the Gout has confined me to my room ever since, but I am now recovering & expect to embark the last of this week for New Brunswick. If Sproule† is arrived there I will settle your matters with him — If not, with my friend Odell — at any rate I am sure of succeeding. I would however advise to another application to Gov'r Wentworth & know decisively what his intentions are. When you have concluded on your measures you will give me notice. Interested in everything which concerns you, I shall feel anxious until I know your final determination.‡ I shall get your letters safe if forwarded by Express-Men.

I hope before I return to be possess'd of such materials as will enable me to answer Mr. Watson's letter to his satisfaction. I have made some progress on this tour. Give a spur once in a while to Byles — make him exert himself.

The Man waits. Adieu,

Most cordially & affectionately Yours,
Ed. Winslow.

Edward Winslow to Sir John Wentworth.

Mount Necessity, Nov'r. 27, 1784.

Dear Sir,—The excessive fatigues of our journey have produced so severe a fit of the Gout that both Chip and myself are now confined to our rooms. We however hope to embark for New Brunswick in a few days.

*Edward Winslow's residence in Granville, N. S.

†George Sproul of Long Island, N. Y., settled in New Brunswick and became surveyor general and a member of the council of the province. He was a most efficient official and an estimable man. He died in Fredericton in 1817, aged 76 years.

‡That is his plans for the future. Marston had fallen out with the governor of Nova Scotia and had been dismissed from his position as chief surveyor at Shelburne. He had many friends, who believed him to have been unfairly treated.

Hailes has forwarded to Mr. Taylor a St. John's Gazette wherein is contained the address* to Gov. Carleton, his answer, and the proclamation. They will of course be published in the Halifax papers. The language of the address I suppose will give offence to the great men of Nova Scotia, but having a predilection for plain English I am glad to see it on this occasion. The proclamation seems to be cautious and calculated to prevent any altercation respecting the principles of decision which the Judges may adopt previous to the completion of the Legislative body. I shall, as opportunities offer, give you information of such events as I think important.

In my tour through the peninsula I have been astonished at observing the improvements lately made; the number of houses built, and above all the increase of Saw mills — no less than nine have been erected within a few months in the neighborhood of Annapolis, including three at St. Mary's Bay; preparations are making to set up other mills on almost every stream that runs into the great Bason of Annapolis; a remarkable one is just set a going by a Mr. Thorne from Long Island and now saws night and day at Broad Cove on the Granville side, and I am told it is surrounded with a fund of timber that cannot be exhausted for many years and so contiguous to the Cove that the lumber is put afloat in it with the utmost facility. These exertions, which extend to the other side of the Bay, afford a fair proof that our favorite position will be established and that large quantities of lumber will be immediately ready for exportation. The operations of the new comers have excited something that resembles emulation in the languid wretches who formerly inhabited the country. Shame has produced a degree of industry that never was discovered before. The neighbors of a Mr. Willet and Mr. Davids have put up fences, and those who live near Mr. James and Mr. McKown have cut down several trees, one man has actually begun to erect a dyke and I have no doubt that in a few years, after they have been eye witnesses of the advantages, they will build chimnies to their houses and barns for their cattle. * * *

I am, dear Sir,

Your obed't & devoted Friend & Serv't,

Ed. Winslow.

*See Murdoch's History of Nova Scotia, Vol. III., p. 38. The address contained pointed references to the grievances of the Loyalists and to their treatment by Governor Parr and his council. They designate themselves as "a number of oppressed and insulted Loyalists," say that they were formerly freemen, and again hope to be so under his auspices. They congratulate Governor Carleton on his "safe arrival to this new world, to check the arrogancy of "tyranny, crush the growth of injustice, and establish such wholesome laws "as are and ever have been the basis of our glorious constitution." The address refers to the services of Col. Carleton as "commander of the 29th regiment in the late rebellion," and speaks of him as "the brother of our illustrious friend and patron, Sir Guy Carleton." The new governor replied to the address in modest and in moderate terms.

Penelope Winslow to Ward Chipman.

Halifax, November 28th, 1784.

Dear Chippy — for I chuse to begin the correspondence with all possible affection for a reason that I shall give you before I rise from my chair — but first of all my wishes are that you have safely crossed the Bay of Fundy, that you have recovered the agitation & Gloom that must have attended you with the Idea of a lasting abode in the new World of Trees & Stumps, & that this scrip will find you in health and spirits. The Taylors & Haliburtons are so good as never to leave me alone, one or the other constantly grace our fire side. We talk much of the [New] Brunswickers — a sigh is sometimes wafted that flatters you not a little. The dancing Partys are kept up with great — Violence, I had like to have said, but Spirit is a better word. Miss Duncan gives a Ball on Monday evening. Miss Brenton on Friday, both of which I shall give you and Mr. Hailes an account of as soon as I receive it from my faithful aide Camps. The last Assembly was amazingly brilliant, the Ladies Dress superb beyond what the New Englanders had seen before. Mrs. Wentworth stood first in fashion & magnificence. Her Gown & Petticoat of sylvan tissue trimmed with Italian Flowers & the finest blond Lace, a train of four yards long, her hair and wrist ornamented with real Diamonds. Miss Duncan was elegant in a fawn coloured satin covered with crepe, black velvet waiste, pearl sprigs in her hair, no feathers or flowers. She was much admired as was Kitty Taylor in unadorned White. Miss Parr looked vastly well in cream coloured satin with sable fur. Lady D—— & Miss Bayley figured in a profusion of waveing Plumes & flowers — the latter exhibited in a minuet a little in the waping style, to use the language of the Brigade Major: Capt. Dalrymple had the honor of her hand but swears he will never be caught in another such scrape. The evening was altogether approved of. The Room is new papered & new lamped. Mr. Taylor distinguished himself as an excellent manager. There is a Town assembly began last Thursday, no Navy or Army admitted, Messrs Uniacke and Dight managers. It is said to be in opposition to the other Party.

Mr Townsend & Will Coffin are not yet arrived. We have expected them every hour the last week, now begin to wonder. Judge Brenton tells me Mr. Townsend had engaged the cabin of a brig for himself & Lady. I do not mean to alarm you my good friend, but this is the report. It is certain he has seen Jannett, as Mr. G. Spooner, who left Boston a few days ago, informs us. (Mr. Spooner has come to explore the country. I have advised him to go immediately to Brunswick, take a house in the neighborhood of you & Col. Winslow — the charming Loquacity of him and his Wife would prevent time hanging heavy). But Chippy suppose Mr. Townsend should be accompany'd by the fair Janett

or the still fairer Miss Moore, of what consequence can it be to you if the intelligence I received yesterday be true. It must be immaterial who you Welcome as Mrs. Townsend. The story's so interesting to us both that I am in haste to tell you that our all important all knowing neighbour, with intelligence & curiosity marked in every feature, attacked me without any preface—"& pray Miss Winslow, how happens it that you are going to steal a march upon all your friends & acquaintance & not trust us with your confidence?" "Me! Madam, I must confess I have not any such design." "Come, come, don't deny what I know to be a truth that you are soon to be married to Mr. T[aylo]r, & it is as certain that Miss Kitty [Taylor] is to have Mr. Chipman, the Solicitor General of New Brunswick & that Mr. Chipman is to be at Halifax early in the Spring & take his fair Partner to St. Johns."

This positive assertion & the idea of being your "Mama" struck me so forcibly that for my Life I could not forbear laughing heartily —which was confirmation of her opinion strong as proof of Holy Writ. I have since in Vain attempted to undeceive the good Lady.

Now Chippy this near & dear connection of ours (that is to be) intitles me to the pleasure of hearing from you as often as is in your power. Consider "my Child" how interesting every event of your life is to me & believe me that I am now anxious for a line from some one of the Trio*—The Colonel & Mr. Hailes have a share in my concern.

Adieu, rest assured that I am, with every friendly sentiment and "Parental affection,"

Yours sincerely,

Penelope.

If this should reach you near Coffin's Manor, offer my love to the Major & his Anna — tell them I intend to make a good neighbour to them when I get to their Dominions on my estate at Elm Grove — or whatever name you incline to christen it.

Winslow's Commission as Surrogate†

By His Excellency Thomas Carleton &c., &c.,

To Edward Winslow,—Greeting.

Reposing especial trust and confidence in your loyalty, learning and integrity, I have assigned, constituted and appointed, and do by these presents assign, constitute, and appoint you the said Edward Winslow to be Surrogate of and in the Province of New Brunswick hereby delegating

*The trio were Ward Chipman, Colonel Winslow and Harris W. Hailes. Chipman and Hailes were domiciled together, and Winslow staid with them when in St. John.

†This office is not now in existence; in lieu thereof there is in each county a judge of probate.

and granting unto you the said Edward Winslow full power and authority to make probate of all last wills and testaments within the said province and letters testamentary and probates of all such last wills and testaments under the seal of your court to grant, and also to grant letters of administration of all estates within the Province aforesaid of persons dying intestate, and to do all such acts and things as the surrogate of the said Province may and of right ought to do. To have, hold, exercise and enjoy the said office of surrogate of and in the Province of New Brunswick in the most full and ample manner to you the said Edward Winslow together with all and singular the rights, profits, privileges and emoluments to the said office belonging or in any wise appertaining for and during pleasure and your residence in the said Province.

Given under my hand and seal at Parr-Town, this 29th November in the 25th year of his Majesty's reign and in the year of our Lord, 1784.

[Note.—One of Edward Winslow's earliest appointments, that of Magistrate in Massachusetts, is thus referred to in a note among the Winslow papers :—

"Mr. Brattle presents his compliments to Edward Winslow Jr, Esq; "gives him joy with his appointment to the office of a Justice of the "Peace as on this day.

"Council Chamber,
"Wednesday, 29th Sept. 1773."]

Mather Byles to Edward Winslow.

Halifax, Tuesday — [Nov. 30, 1784.]

I return you many thanks for your kind favour of November 24th. which reached me on Sunday, and congratulate you on your safe arrival at Mount Necessity. As your touch of the Gout is one of those obedient attacks that only last while they are convenient, I don't suppose it gives you much pain or anxiety, though I think now you have a right of exemption from all attacks for one year at least. It's a hard case if one month out of twelve won't excuse you. * * *

Previous to the receipt of your letter I had wrote Lieut. Charles Stewart* and Lieut. Fraser, inclosing copies of the extract from Brook Watson, and requesting every information in their power, and I shall continue to bore them once a month at least, till I receive their returns. I enclose you one from Captain Legget,† at Country Harbour which is the first that has been received; and shall regularly embrace every opportunity of gaining intelligence from the different settlements. Mr. Brittain is making his report of the settlements about Chester and says it will be

*Lieut. Charles Stewart of the Loyal N. S. Volunteers.
†Captain John Legget of the Royal North Carolina Regiment.

ready in the course of this month. Mr. Marston has wrote on the subject to Shelburne and has given me leave to take up and open his answers when they come.

I am extremely obliged by your kindly offers of service: In case anything should turn up in my favour at New Brunswick, will you forgive me if I venture to say a little on this subject? The friendly manner in which you have treated me, makes me regard you as a parent, and as such I wish to explain to you my situation.

I have lately received letters from my father* he informs me he shall be out here early in the spring. My mother being unwell, and the family being unable to do without some person to provide for them and do a thousand little things for which a man is constantly wanted, I should prefer (if it could be done) to remain with them till he returns. The principal pleasure which I promise myself at New Brunswick is to be with you, and render myself of service to you. If therefore you delay settling at New Brunswick till the Spring and can then find an employment for me, it would suit me better than going there this winter. At the same time my circumstances are such I must embrace the first eligible opportunity of putting myself forward in life — and God knows I have no future prospects but through you and your friendship. Let me my worthy friend in this as in every other instance, rely on your protection, and commit the affair wholly to your management. I will abide by your decision and am confident that you will act for me better than I could for myself. * * *

I am pleased to find that the Commissary's† abilities continue to unfold themselves. His talents at composition are certainly very great, But while I was at Granville he exhibited principally in the "Sublime"— from your letter I should imagine he has added the "Beautiful"‡ and I suppose his exertions in this new stile may be partly attributed to the absence of Murray, as he must find less difficulty in obtaining from Mama his allowance of smoked beef at breakfast which was often the occasion of one of his grum sallies. I hope that Poppy‖ recovers her complexion as the cold weather comes on, and that Pen is less leaky than formerly. Tell them that Murray has arrived safe in the Downs, when the Sally was spoke with by the Hermione, which arrived here last Saturday

*The Rev. Mather Byles, D. D., is meant. At this time he was in England, but came out to Halifax soon afterwards and became chaplain of the garrison until he was appointed rector of Trinity church, St. John. His biography is given in G. Herbert Lee's History of the Church of England in the Province of New Brunswick.

†The "Commissary" is Winslow's son "Tom," named after his father's old friend, Commissary Thomas Aston Coffin.

‡Referring to Burke's well known work on "The Sublime and the Beautiful."

‖Edward Winslow's daughter Mary, who afterwards married Edward W. Miller and lived at Fredericton.

after a passage of twenty five days. * * Mr. Harcourt arrived here in the Hermione, he has brought out the stone for your father's tomb, which when landed will be taken into custody by Mr. Taylor. Mr. Watson is using all his influence to obtain for Mr. Brinley the appointment of Commissary at this place, and it was supposed his application would be successful. Who do you think was his rival? Andrew Finucane! * * My father has had his final hearing before the Commissioners — they have said many civil things to him, told him that his charges were reasonable, that they were well supported, and that they had no further occasion for his attendance. This was all perfectly handsome & he began to enquire what compensation might be expected & when it was to be applied for. But these arcana of the cabinet were not to be divulged & he is yet ignorant what will be the result. He begs me to repeat to you his assurances of gratitude for the kindly attention you have paid to his family during his absence. * * *

Dr. Calef,* who came passenger in the Hermione, says, that the Board for examining the claims of the Loyalists will get through their business by the next meeting of Parliament in January and it will then be ascertained what compensation they are to receive for their losses.

The Governor has received a letter from Gov'r Hancock, communicating a resolve of Congress that it appears from surveys which have been taken that the Eastern-most river in the Bay of Passamaquoddy is the true River St. Croix alluded to in the treaty of Peace, & requesting that he would order those persons who have encroached on the territory of the States to retire peaceably within the limits of the Province. This letter has been communicated to the General and I suppose will occasion a fresh requisition for troops, though it is not now in his Excellency's district, so I suppose the matter will be settled on your side the Bay.

Monday, December 6th, 1784.

Mr. Marston has just given me a return which he received from Barrington and I enclose a copy of it. The original I will keep here for fear of accidents. Mr. Marston goes in the morning and will take charge of this. The Board of Accounts have put off their final decision respecting the Departments to this day owing to some difficulties they have met with from Mr. Brinley.

*Doctor John Calef, formerly of Ipswich, Mass., was an active Loyalist. His wife was a daughter of the Rev. Jedediah Jewett of Rowley, Mass. Dr. Calef was one of the pall-bearers at Whitefield's funeral. He was a surgeon with the royal forces at the capture of Penobscot, and he has left us a graphic account of the siege of Penobscot by the Americans. (See Article li., St. Croix Courier Historical Series.) He was sent to England by the Penobscot Associated Loyalists to urge the fixing of the boundary between the British provinces and the United States at the River Penobscot. He was afterwards surgeon of the garrison at St. John. He will be frequently referred to in the papers that follow. He died at St. Andrews in 1812, at the age of 87 years.

Captain White* has just returned from Chedabucto and has collected materials for you which he will get ready for me in a day or two. Mr. Shaw is also hard at work and thinks that he shall do the business very compleatly and will write you himself when his returns are ready, interspersing a variety of curious and interesting observations respecting the privilege given the Americans to fish on the coast.

Your good mother is very well and sends her love. Sister Penny has a bad cold which occasions a slight fever. She is now recovering but will not be able to write by this conveyance. Miss Millar waits for the ceremony of a first letter. Billy Coffin has accepted the office of Superintendent General of the family in the absence of Mr. Marston. All your circle of female acquaintances are well except Fattelinda who has been confined by a bilious disorder but is recovering. Colonel Goold is fighting hard with the Gout which hangs about his stomach and may probably be too much for him. Sophy and the old lady are well. Major Upham's disorder has terminated in his favor and he is now recovering fast. Major Murray 'tis said has sailed directly for N. B. in a vessel which sailed about the same time with the Hermione. * * *

[Remainder of letter missing. Col. Arthur Goold, secretary of the Province of Nova Scotia, mentioned just above, died at Halifax, Feb. 29, 1792, at the age of 64 years.]

Thomas Aston Coffin to Edward Winslow.

London, 2 Dec'r, 1784.

My dear Ned,— I wrote you per the Adamant acknowledging the receipt of your letter of September 2d p. the Brothers, & announced to you the safe arrival of your Boy.† He stayed a week or ten days at Geyer's and after rigging him out with a new suit of cloaths, with hat, stockings, &c., compleat, he went to school last Thursday, and tho' going among perfect strangers behaved very manfully. He is placed at Cheshurst where Geyer's son Frederic was and his son Tom now is. Inclosed are the terms of the school — the Master however consented to take him at 20 Guineas p. annum instead of £25. The Christmas holidays will soon begin when he will return to Mr. Geyers, where he receives every sort of attention and care — the more I think of it, the more I am convinced

*Gideon White, as already stated in these notes, had lands at Chedebucto, where his old corps had settled. Col. Winslow at this time was engaged in collecting information through his friends respecting the condition and resources of Nova Scotia. He embodied this information in his own admirable fashion in a report which he transmitted to Brook Watson for that gentleman's information. Brook Watson was considered, by reason of his great interest in the Loyalists and his position and ability, to be their best champion in England. See Brook Watson's letters to Edward Winslow under date 6th March, 1785, and 26th August, 1785.

†Murray Winslow, sent to school in England.

of the Propriety of sending him here for Education. The expence will be well bestowed, nor will it be very great in addition to the price of schooling. His cloaths and other incidents will not amount to much. I don't wonder at Polly's being distressed at parting with him, but she will in the end be thankful for it, as the want of the advantages resulting from it we have every reason to believe could never be compensated.

Your friend Doct. Jeffries a few days ago made an aerial Excursion with Mons'r Blanchard in a baloon*. They ascended amidst a vast concourse of people and received their applause. I wish you had been present you would have enjoyed it much. The next Vessel from Halifax must inform us of the St. Lawrence's arrival. I am very impatient for letters after Chip and all of you have met. I know of nothing material to acquaint you with and have only to offer my respects and best wishes to the old Lady and Girls, to Polly and the Children. Adieu, God bless you for ever & ever. T. A. C.

Sir John Wentworth to Edward Winslow.

Halifax 7th Dec'r, 1784.

My dear Sir,—I embrace the few minutes while Mr. Marston is putting up his papers to say God bless you and yours. I have appointed our friend to be my Deputy† in New Brunswick, and have wrote to Gov'r Carleton recommending him and Davidson. As it is my wish to expedite the public business which depends on my office, and in the manner most agreeable to Gov'r Carleton, I shall be much obliged in your advice and any information to Mr. Marston that will aid us herein. I have the fullest reliance on his discretion and shall trust much to his judgment. I have given M. a pamphlet for you — it is severe enough. I hear from London that my letter was handed about to many persons, and that Fanning, you and I were opposing this Gov't with a view to effect a change. My answer is, that I have not any knowledge thereof — altho' probably such an event would be useful to prophet, priest and King.

The packet sailed today. Governor Desbarres is under way for Cape Breton in the Fecility, C'pt Bouterich with him. We have no news. I shall be much obliged if you will send me the public papers containing any proclamations that are made, &c. Also the boundarys of New

*This incident is referred to in Sabine's American Loyalists. He says that John Jeffries crossed the British Channel in a balloon. This was then deemed an extraordinary feat.

†That is deputy surveyor of the King's woods. The duties of his office were largely to prevent the cutting of timber on the King's reserves, also the cutting of pine trees suitable for masts, both on granted and ungranted lands, these being by Act of Parliament reserved for the royal navy.

Brunswic. I hear the Congress claims Magadavick — if they succeed they will cut off one of our most important reservations particularly mentioned in all my instructions, and reported by me. It is not improbable that I may get over the Bay soon after this but it is uncertain, so I don't declare for the route.

Pray make my regards to our good friend Mr. Hazen and his good family — also to Hailes, Balfour, Lambton* &c.

Adieu my dear Sir, a merry Xmas to you and every happiness is the cordial wish of your unfeigned friend,

J. Wentworth.

P. S. Mardonogh writes me late in October that Sproule will not be able to embark until the Spring. Possibly Marston might be a good person to assist him.

2 1-2 P. M. Since my letter was sealed I have received yours pr. Mr. Wright. Many thanks & many wishes for your & Chip's being again on good footing. The Gout is a sad enemy to Travellers. Mrs. W. desires her thanks. I shall not wonder to see her take a rove to New Brunswic. The Gov'r, Council & Assembly give a Toast today, possibly the Men and Measures of N. Brunswic may come into conversation — or tonight at the Club, which is with me. I must dress for the business.

Adieu, Ever yours, J. W.

Edward Winslow to Sir John Wentworth.

Granville, 26 Dec'r, 1784.

Dear Sir,—I had the pleasure of your letter by Marston. He was so fortunate as to arrive safe before I left New Brunswick. I attended him to the Governor's, who expressed his satisfaction at the appointment in very flattering terms and I left Marston comfortably settled in a mess with Chipman and Hailes at the house† hired for me where the Commissary lived when we were at St. John's.

I thank you for the pamphlet altho' I must acknowledge that it is the worst thing of the kind I ever saw. I am very sorry that a letter which I was the innocent cause of procuring should (contrary to your intention) have been so freely made use of — the other part of the London

*Lieutenant W. Lambton, assistant engineer at Fort Howe. In company with Benjamin Marston he explored the wilderness between Fredericton and St. Andrews in 1785. Captain Wm. Balfour, whose name is mentioned here, belonged to the 51st Regiment of Foot and was in command of the garrison at Fort Howe.

†This was James Simonds' house at Portland Point. It had been occupied by Col. Winslow's mother and sisters. James Simonds at this time lived on the St. John river at Sheffield. He returned to his house at Portland Point in 1787.

intelligence gives me no pain. They may say what they please of me so long as they continue me one of a Trio with yourself and Fanning. I don't like the expression "opposing the Government"— but "effecting a change," I have no objection to. I will give 'em a proof of my disinterestedness by persevering in my endeavors to produce that effect. A contracted man who wished to serve only the province of New Brunswick would exert all his talents to continue the present Governor of Nova Scotia in his seat, because nothing would so effectually contribute to the settlement of the rival province. But my patriotism is not confined to one side of the Bay of Fundy; I wish well to the Province of Nova Scotia also.

With respect to the Boundaray of our Province nothing new has taken place. Governor Carleton has no doubt that the river Scoodiac was the intended boundary between us and the Massachusetts, and he proceeds accordingly, regardless of an ambiguous epistle from Governor H[ancock] forwarded by Governor Parr. Allen,* the drunken partizan, has thrown out some threats that he will employ the Indians to remove the people settled between Magadavick & Scoodiac, but Mr. Campbell, Bliss and other discreet men lately from Passamaquoddy say they are under no apprehensions from him or his adherents.

The proposed plan of incorporating the new towns at the mouth of the River and forming a City by the name of St. John has prevented a serious representation from the people. The town on the east side was christened (by Major Studholme and others) in consequence of a letter from Gov. Parr to Major S. wherein he makes the request pointedly but says,. "That the idea originated in female vanity." The rude inhabitants of this new country have not yet acquired a sufficient degree of gallantry to indulge that vanity any further, and they were evidently uneasy — they are now satisfy'd.

Assure Mrs. Wentworth that the ladies of New Brunswick are literally and absolutely in the enjoyment of a variety of rational amusements. That determined enemy to dancing, the Gout, prevented my personal attendance at the assembly, but I have been assured it was pleasant and agreeable. The next will probably be more numerous. The room is much superior to that at Halifax.

John Hancock and Samuel Adams.

[Note:—The reference to John Hancock, governor of Massachusetts and first signer of the Declaration of Independence, which is found in the foregoing letter, has recalled to the mind of the Editor of this book

*Colonel John Allan formerly lived at Cumberland, at the head of the Bay of Fundy. See Kidder's "Military Operations in Eastern Maine and Nova Scotia during the Revolution." There was little love between John Allan and the Loyalists.

the severe strictures of Edward Winslow on Hancock and Adams, written apparently at New York during the Revolution. The exact date is uncertain, as no date is to be found in the original paper which, it may be added, is a rough draft with interlineations and erasures. It was undoubtedly written at a time when the feelings of the contestants were wrought up to the highest pitch of animosity and is quite characteristic of the spirit which prevailed between the majority of the Whigs and Tories of that period. The intelligent reader will, however, be able to judiciously balance the strictures of either party in the contest, and, in view of the fact that the panegyrists of John Hancock and Samuel Adams are numbered by the score, it would seem but fair that in this instance the good old motto should prevail, "Audi alteram partem." Winslow's strictures follow.

At a period so critical as the present, even anecdotes of individuals who have figured on either side become important, and the man whose name is often mentioned is necessarily a subject of considerable inquiry: What was his origin—his former situation—his general character? etc., etc., are questions that naturally occur. If the object be a member of the American Congress, and we are told that previous to his exertions on the side of rebellion he was a gentleman of probity and that he had sacrificed property to principle, the most sanguine Loyalist, if his temper is ingenuous feels himself in some degree interested for the fate of such a man.

These observations have arisen from reading the "Notes in the history of the present war in America." The two men there characterized are Sam. Adams and J. Hancock.

Samuel Adams is the son of an obscure malster in the town of Boston, who by extraordinary exertion was enabled to educate his son at the college at Cambridge in New England. Too indolent to pursue any of the learned professions, he at the death of his father took possession of the tools and became a malster. A propensity to dabble in the politics of the town caused a neglect of business and he sank into extreme poverty. His natural disposition to cabal increased with his distress and he was sure to be concerned in every little attempt to stir strife in the neighborhood or sedition in the parish. Deliberately cunning in his measures and specious in his reasoning, covered also with an external sanctity, the ignorant vulgar listened to him with some degree of attention.

A family suffering for want of the common necessaries of life was the argument by which his friends obtained for him the employment of examiner [?] of taxes for the town of Boston, the legal commission on which amounted to about £60.

Hitherto his ambition had aimed at nothing higher than occasionally disturbing the peace of the town in which he lived: an opportunity soon

after presented for exerting his talents on a larger scale. A man by the name of Hancock had risen from a bookbinder to a merchant and had by contracts, made in the last war with the King's Commissaries, amassed a fortune of £60,000 or £70,000 sterling. At his death he left the bulk of his property to his nephew, the present John Hancock. In this state of affluence—ignorant, awkward and unsuspicious, he fell into the hands of Adams. Flattery was a novelty and pleased him. He began to suppose himself of consequence: he was introduced to private committees, caucus clubs and all the variety of meetings where mischievous men hatch and nurse sedition. His cash was useful: he was reimbursed with honors—he was appointed a Select man. Adams continued his political guardian, made his speeches and furnished him with matter, etc. They were inseparable companions till an unlucky event had nearly put an end to their connection.

Very considerable sums collected by Adams had never been paid into the treasury—the deficiency occasioned clamors and a process [of execution]. It was reduced to a certainty that Adams had defrauded the town and expended the money. What could be done? Even Hancock detested the conduct, but all his secrets were deposited in the breast of his friend; he might be betrayed—and he could not yet go alone in politics. He therefore concluded to pay the deficiency and save as far as possible the credit of the tax gatherer.

It would be unentertaining to trace these men thro' all their windings to their present consequence. It will be sufficient to observe that Hancock by scattering his money among a crowd of lazy politicians acquired a temporary influence and obtained seats for himself and Adams in the General Assembly of the Province [of Massachusetts.] Here they distinguished themselves by a uniform opposition to government and by most persevering exertions to increase the confusions of the country, until this insignificant malster began to anticipate the establishment of an Independency. They became members of the Continental Congress, their conduct since is generally known.

I only mean to fix these few facts — in order to correct the mistakes of the author of "Notes in the history of the War in America"—viz: that Adams was low bred—poor—and a cheat—and that Hancock was his dupe.

——— [Ed. Winslow.]

Sir John Wentworth to Edward Winslow.

Halifax, 12th January 1785.

My dear Sir,—* * * I am much obliged in your kindness to our mutual friend Mr. Marston. He will do us both credit. The Governor has not yet entered upon my letter, but I think must perceive my sincere disposition to co-operate with his views and add every honor and facility

to his administration that personal or official influence can afford. Little as either or both are, they are equally honest and firm.

Our worthy friend Colonel Fanning is at the table with us. He was Mrs. Wentworth's* beau at the Assembly and staid with us last night. He begs his regards to you. Wrote you a few days since.

Mrs. Wentworth longs to shake her shoes in New Brunswick — has given me a thousand, I believe more, things to say upon your gouty foot, dancing, &c., and sums all up by saying, "I wish we could have him here or we be among them."

I rejoice in your success at New Brunswick and so I shall heartily in every addition to it. We have no news but are talking much that your side of the Bay will want provisions. I hope not for many reasons besides my affection to New Brunswick. If you do not suffer and complain; envy, hatred and malice will feed on some breasts here, where it evidently lodges.

My best regards attend you and your family. Many, many happy New-Years to you and to them, is the continual prayer of, my dear Sir,

Your affect'e faithful friend

J. Wentworth.

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*Mrs. Wentworth was a remarkably clever woman, and the story of her life is a very romantic one. Her maiden name was Frances Deering, and the towns of Francestown and Deering in New Hampshire are named in her honor. She was a Bostonian by birth, very accomplished and gay, and possessed of great tact and ability. She was a cousin of Theodore Atkinson, jr., and also of Sir John Wentworth. Her earliest attachment was for Wentworth, but while he was absent in England she married Atkinson. The latter was secretary of the province of New Hampshire and a member of the council. He died at Portsmouth on Saturday, October 28, 1769, at the age of 33 years, and was accorded a state funeral. Just two weeks later his young widow was married in the same chapel, beneath which the first husband was buried, to Governor John Wentworth. There was much gossip at Portsmouth about the three cousins at the time, founded on the facts here related. The only son of Sir John and Lady Wentworth was Charles Mary Wentworth, who was born at Portsmouth in 1775. He succeeded his father as baronet. Lady Wentworth went to England in 1798 and was presented at court, where she was greatly admired by Queen Charlotte for her elegance and manners, and received the appointment of a lady-in-waiting, with permission to reside abroad and receive £500 a year salary. Lady Wentworth was a charming hostess. On the occasion of a ball at Government House in Halifax, Dec. 1792, the Nova Scotia Gazette contained a most elaborate description, which, although savoring of fulsome adulation, was no doubt intended to express the hearty good will generally felt for the governor and his good lady. The following extract is quoted:—"That "ease, elegance and superiority of manners, which must ever gain Mrs. Went- "worth the admiration of the whole community, and that hospitality which so "distinguish the character and conduct of our beloved and adored governor, "never shone with more lustre than on this occasion." Edward Winslow was always a prime favorite with Lady Wentworth as well as with Sir John. See letter of Daniel Lyman under date April 7, 1800.

Monson Hoyt to Edward Winslow.

St. Ann's Point, January 12th, 1785.

Sir,—I did myself the honor to write you in October last, since which I have had frequent conversation with Major Armstrong on the subject of Captn. Cook's* land, but finding he argued the impropriety of locating land for persons not in America, and there being no Precedent for it, I wrote him officially on the subject. * * *

The Major being hurried, on the receipt of my letter apologized for not answering it then, the next day I saw him when he observed that he was assured no grant could be obtained for land in the name of a person in England; that on the arrival of Capt'n Cook he would be accommodated and doubtless to his wish; that, as the new Governor had lately landed, he had reason to suppose such regulations would shortly take place as would enable him to determine on the matter, but that at present no person knew better than you that Captain Cook could not be accomodated with land.

Governor Carleton is expected at St. Ann's in the course of the winter, it is very probable I shall then be able to ascertain the propriety of enforcing the matter and be assured nothing shall be wanting on the part of, Sir,

Your most devoted humble Servant,

Monson Hoyt.†

Mather Byles Jr., to Edward Winslow.

Tuesday 25th January, 1785.

We have an abundance of distressful stories from Shelburne, Passamaquoddy, St. Mary's Bay, &c, complaining of the shortness of provisions, & the danger they are in of starving. Gov'r Carleton has informed the General of his having purchased a quantity of flour at Passamaquoddy and

*Captain Thomas Ive Cook of the Queen's Rangers Cavalry.

†Monson Hoyt was a lieutenant in the Prince of Wales' American Regiment in 1777, and quartermaster of the corps. He was the secretary and registrar of the board of directors appointed for the laying out of a town at St. Anne's Point. The following is a sample of the location tickets or certificates issued by the board:—

"I hereby certify that Lieut. Zachariah Brown is the proprietor of Lot No. "72 at St. Anne's Point, by virtue of a general draft made on the 22nd day of "June last.

"By desire of the directors.

"(Signed) MONSON HOYT, Registrar.

"St. Anne's Point, August 25, 1784."

Monson Hoyt afterwards removed to St. John, and engaged in business there in partnership with the celebrated Benedict Arnold. They quarrelled, and Hoyt publicly accused Arnold of burning his warehouse, whereupon he was sued by Arnold for defamation of character. In the trial that followed Ward Chipman was counsel for Arnold and Elias Hardy for Hoyt. The jury awarded the plaintiff 2 shillings and 6 pence damages.

St. John's for the supply of the Loyalists — however as the quantity was small it didn't cause much alarm in this quarter, and his Excellency is informed that the money will be paid whenever applied for. A sloop laded with flour from the Adamant sailed from this yesterday for St. John's, and another is to follow her in a few days. The proprietors of St. Ann's Point* have written an address of thanks to the General for his attention to that place in establishing a post there, and building a magazine. It is signed by Major Armstrong,† and a polite answer to it goes by this express.

A circular letter has been wrote to the Commissaries at the different outposts directing them to inspect the returns of the Muster Masters and strike off all those who have died, left the settlements &c. since the muster and to issue in future to such only as are actually on the spot. This is all that has been done in the official way either important or unimportant since I wrote last.

I inclose you Mr. Porter's‡ report of the district from Halifax to Shelburne, also this day's paper, a letter from Mr. Coffin, & a letter from Col. Robinson. Your News Papers I shall forward by this conveyance. Your sister doesn't write as she is affronted with the whole set from New Brunswick to Granville inclusive, and she thinks by not writing she is silently pursuing a favourite maxim—Reverence thy-self. It seems you all owe her a letter. The family are well. Miss Miller has made her appearance at the Assembly [dances]—cut out the whole circle of Belles—has become a reigning toast and is allowed by your connoiseurs in beauty to beat Miss Polly Prince all hollow.

Major Upham has had a return of his disorder and is now very low.

Mr. Brittain‖ tells me that your gout is still hanging about you. I hope it does not carry on the attack so violently as to prevent your amusing yourself with your sleigh, or sporting at the Annapolis Assemblies; indeed I can't help flattering myself that it is only a political touch which is predestined to keep you at Granville till the Spring. Gordon pretends

*St. Anne's Point had not yet received the name of Fredericton, nor had it been fixed upon as the capital of the Province of New Brunswick, but it had been laid out in lots for a town, and these lots had been granted.

†Major Richard Armstrong of the Queen's Rangers is here referred to. He entered the corps in August, 1776, as captain of the Grenadier company, and in October 25, 1778, was promoted major. He was a distinguished officer during the Revolutionary War. At the peace in 1783 he received a large grant of land at the mouth of the Nacawick Stream, where he built a saw and grist mill. Some years later he retired to Fredericton. He was advanced by successive promotions to the rank of lieutenant general in the army. He died in 1817 and was buried on his own property in Upper Queensbury.

‡William Porter was one of the commissaries appointed to muster the Loyalists settled from Halifax to Shelburne.

‖John Brittain, here referred to, was employed as clerk in the military offices at Halifax.

to expect you soon; the General says not till March. Which do you think is right ?

Tell Mrs. Winslow that Balloon hats are grown quite obsolete and now no lady ventures to show her nose without it's half covered by a Lunardi* Bonnet, Red powder for the hair, and a Lunardi Handkerchief for the neck.

Extract from a letter wrote by Willm. Donaldson† to Thos. Newland, Esquire, Merch't in London, dated the 9th Feb'y, 1785, and sent pr. the Medway, Capt'n Miller, for London; viz.—

"Sir;—After the peace finding no good business to be done in the States and a prospect of things being worse, besides having all my life-time lived under a British Government I must confess I have not only the strongest attachment to it but would wish to end my days under one. These considerations, with some little business, induced me to visit this Country when after exploring it almost thoroughly, I sat myself down at the mouth of the River St. John, west side of the Bay of Fundy. You will I hope pardon my saying a few words about this new Country.

The summers here I find exceedingly pleasant and healthy and the winter by no means so cold as I expected it; it is more steady, and I think not so cold as at New York. The River St. John's, up which I have been about 120 miles, is pretty well settled and since the arrival of our new Governor, is settling fast. The lands are exceedingly rich and good and the River is the noblest I have seen in America, and I have now travelled in it almost from the extremes of the South to that of the North. It is navigable for vessels of considerable burthen as far as St. Anns, about 90 miles up. St. Ann's is an old cleared spot and is the most centrical and beautiful situation for a town I ever beheld. About it and near it on both sides the River is the land allotted for the Officers and Privates of the Disbanded Corps, who are making rapid progress in their new settlements and think themselves amply paid for their toil by the generous increase. This River is navigable for small craft to the Great Falls, about 150 miles above St. Anns.

To view this Town in so short a time would astonish every stranger as it would to see the improvements going on in the Country. The number of Saw Mills erected are very great, and can only be imagined

*Lunardi was a famous balloonist, and his exploits were all the rage in society at this period.

†William Donaldson was a Virginia Loyalist. His losses consequent upon the Rebellion were estimated at £3,000. He went at first to Shelburne and afterwards to St. John. He was extensively engaged in business and William Garden of Fredericton was a partner. He became financially embarrassed and was forced to leave the province. He died in 1797.

from the noble prospect this Country opens for Lumber, and which is not to be equalled in any of the States. The only wood that is scarce is White Oak; red and gray Oak there is in abundance, and the most convincing proof I can give you of the fair prospect there is in this article is, that a few days ago in consequence of proposals I received from a merchant of eminence at Halifax to load two vessels here in the Spring, I sent him an answer lately what I could contract for, and every article in this infant country was considerably below what he could be supplied with in New England or any of the States, and in a few days I expect his answer to conclude the Contract for upwards of 2,000 tons timber, consisting of white, red, and grey Oak, Elm, Beech, Birch, Pine, Spruce, Black Birch, & Rock Maple timber for ship-building, assorted as Spars, Masts, Keel pieces, top-masts, yards, plank, barrels and staves.

Ship-building where every material is, or may be, got on the spot, cannot fail to be an article of great importance in this Country. Many vessels large and small are now building on the River, and as the materials are of the best sort, it may be expected that vessels will be lasting and durable and have a preference at foreign markets.

The preparations also making for the fishery is very considerable, and if encouragement is given, which I hope and doubt not will, no country bids or can bid fairer soon to be the pride, envy and admiration of her neighbors.

As for a grazing country nature has been so bountifull to this, that it cannot fail even with common attention, to be the first or among the first on this Continent.

As I am informed Brook Watson, Esquire, has the interest of this country much at heart, and tho' I know that Gentleman yet I have not the honor of corresponding with him, I will therefore trouble you to communicate that part of this letter to him that respects the Country as I know it will give him pleasure, and I will send another copy of it to my worthy friend Edward Winslow, Esquire, now at Annapolis, who is as much interested in its prosperity as any man existing, and who disinterestedly has taken more pains and done more for its happiness and interest than any man I know.

Excuse my saying so much but I could not well say less in justice to the people and prospects of this promising Country.

One thing I had almost forgot, and which is highly necessary to mention, the fallacious idea that has crept into Lloyd's Coffee House about the danger and difficulty of the navigation of the Bay of Fundy. This doctrine must have been set up by some designing people and is so notoriously false that it hardly deserves a serious answer. The Harbour is a very good one, many excellent wharves are raising, the navigation of

the Bay is safe and easy, and it abounds with a number of commodious bays and harbours. As a proof of this hardly an accident happens in a Twelve-month to the numerous shipping that have come here, and our harbour has this further advantage that it is open at all seasons of the year and we have arrivals during the whole winter. As I hinted before. I am fully convinced that this ill natured report has been propagated with a view to injure the settlement so I am equally sensible that it will of itself speedily fall to the ground, having no foundation in truth."

Benjamin Marston to Edward Winslow.

Felicity Hall* [St. John] Friday Feby 18
to Monday the 21st 1785.

Dear Ned;—Yours of 18th Jany, came to hand two days ago with blanket rug & suit of cloaths, for which I thank you.

I have endeavored to secure the land on the Gore between your sister's land & the manor of Coffin but have not been able to succeed. * *

I shall give Coffin the scantlins for your frame immediately and when Dogget arrives he shall be taken care of immediately and set to work.

The Governor has been up to St. Anns. I did not go with him. The party was the Gov'r, Hazen, Odell and Knox.† I did not see any room to insert myself conveniently into it so made no offer. But next week Lambton and myself set out for a tour upon a much larger scale. We go to St. Anns, cross the country to Schudiac, then down to St. Andrews, thence cross the country to ye St. John's by the Orramucto, if we can find it, & so home.‡

While I think of it, it is necessary that Penny and Sally's‖ grants for

*This seems to have been the name selected for the house where Marston lodged with Chipman and Harris W. Hailes. See Chipman's letter under date 20th March, 1785.

†This was Thomas Knox, who was deputy muster master of the Loyalists and disbanded troops on the St. John River in 1784. He was afterwards joint agent with his father, William Knox, for the Province of New Brunswick in England.

‡Benjamin Marston in his diary speaks of this trip as equal to a "campaign." The route traversed by Lambton and Marston is shown in an old plan. The plan, which is in the Public Record office in London, is dated 1796. There is on it a dotted line with the inscription: "The dotted line describes Mr. Lambton's path from the River Saint John to Saint Andrews, Passamaquoddy Bay, in 1784." The route is not identical with that outlined by Marston in his letter of Feb. 18, 1785, but as Marston had a very imperfect idea of the route, this is not an important discrepancy. The fact, however, remains that the map states the journey of Lambton was made in 1784, whereas his journey with Marston was in February, 1785. Dr. Ganong suggests two explorations that are distinct, but I am disposed to identify them. An exploration made in the winter of 1784-5 might be marked on the map by the draughtsman in 1786 as "Mr. Lambton's path in 1784."—W. O. R.

‖The grant of 400 acres to Penelope and Sarah Winslow, near Brandy Point, below Westfield, was dated April 24, 1784.

their lands be returned to the Secretary's office to be registered. * * *

'Tis now Monday, & I have sent the Major [Coffin] up a list of scantlins this morning. * * As I expect to set out on my Sylvan expedition in a day or two any matters of business must be directed to Chippy We are well. Last Wednesday we exhibited at the Hall, under the auspices of General Chippy, a monstrous great Ball & fine supper to about 36 Gentlemen & Ladies such as Governours, Secretaries, Chief Justices, Chancellors & such kind of people with their wives and daughters. We ate, drank, danced, & played cards till about 4 o'clock in the morning. We had everything for supper. It is difficult to conceive how his Gen'lship could collect such a variety of luxurious viands together in such a place as this. * * *

The River is as solid as the Everlasting Hills but your Beans have not yet arrived from St. Anns.

I really participate with you in your present enjoyments of domestic happiness. 'Tis a consolation to find that such a thing as Happiness is passing, one may hope some time or other to get a little of it one's self. I thank Mrs. Winslow most heartily for her kind reception of my good wishes. She is one of the few that I think entitled to them. God bless you both and may ye long be happy together is the fervent prayer of

Your affectionate Cousin,

Ben.

Benjamin Hallowell to Edward Winslow.

London, 27th Feb'y, 1785.

My dear Sir,—The weather very early set in cold this winter and not having much very pressing business abroad, I have on account of my health kept much at home since the beginning of November, and living at some distance from all my American acquaintances, I did not hear of Miss Winslow,* your sister's being in England until two days before I received her note wishing my attendance at the American office to give evidence to your worthy Father's character &c., &c., to support the claim made by the family for support and compensation, about a fortnight since. After which my daughter, (Mrs. H. being indisposed), and I took the earliest opportunity that the weather would allow me to be abroad to call on Miss Winslow but was not so fortunate as to meet her at home, and I was several times in that unlucky situation of not seeing her, though not always disappointed. I lament that it has not been in my power to shew that attention that I ought to have done had my health permitted

*Sarah Winslow, who went to England with certain documents to prove the confiscation of her late father's property by the Americans, with the view of obtaining compensation from the commissioners on the Loyalist claims.

and I known of her being in London. Miss Winslow attended by her faithful friend Mr. Coffin* did us the honor to call yesterday which was all the time she said she could possibly give us, as the Ship left the River on Saturday last in order to be in the Downs as soon as possible after clearing at Gravesend. The letters that I have received from my good friend Governor Fanning are very pressing that I should be in Halifax as early as possible this spring for the security and managing my property in Nova Scotia;† before such intimation I was getting as fast as possible ready to leave this Country and was in hopes before this day I should have embarked, having nothing to detain me in England. * * * In the meantime I must intreat you and my other friends to use your interest to prevent any mischief happening to my property and to request the continuance of that friendship to get settlers on the premises on such terms as you, Governor Wentworth and Governor Fanning, may think proper, all which I will confirm, which will add to the many obligations I am already under to you. I am, dear Sir,

Your most ob't and faithful much obliged
Humble Servt,
Benj.Hallowell.

Samuel Goldsbury to Edward Winslow.

Edinburgh [N. S.], March 1st, 1785.

Sir,—Agreeable to your request I here send you an account of the Growth of Timber, number of saw mills, Quantity of fish taken the last year, preparations making for this, number of Vessels, Quantity of Cattle, &c, &c.

The Town of Edinburgh is situated at the Mouth of the River Sisibou. which empties itself into the Bay of St. Mary's on the Western side the Peninsula, the Lands around the Bay and River exceedingly good and afford encouragement to the Farmer, are plentifully covered with Large Timber, such as Birch, Beech, Rock Maple, Spruce, Pine, and Ash, and in several Routes I have taken for exploring the Western part of the Peninsula I have seen Very considerable quantitys of Fine Oak Timber. which may by means of Lakes and Rivers be easily conveyed to the sea. We have plenty of Streams of Water and advantageous situations for Mills. Four saw-Mills are already erected, and a number more erecting, all contiguous to the Bay and River. There was taken and exported from this place the Last Year 1200 quintals of Cod fish, besides a considerable quantity consumed by the Settlers, most of which Fish were taken in Lor

*Thomas Aston Coffin greatly assisted Miss Winslow in her undertaking, which, for a woman, was in those days an arduous task.

†The property at Guysborough before mentioned under date 10th February, 1784.

canoes and small Boats. There undoubtedly will be four times that quantity taken this year, as the Settlers will not be necessarily employed in Building. We have at present but few Vessels, and those Small, except a Brigg of 120 Tons and a Sloop of 80 Tons, which are now employed in the West India Trade.

There is on this Bay & River more than one thousand Head of Black Cattle besides numbers of Horses and Sheep. It is difficult to affix a price for Lumber even for the present year, owing to the great call there has been among the new settlements. I am of opinion that a large quantity of Lumber may be shipped at this place the present year at the following prices, viz, Boards & plank at 36 shillings Sterling pr. thousand feet; and Square Timber at 22s. 6d. pr. thousand feet carried into Board measure.

The Settlers are generally Poor but industrious, their exertions cramped for want of Provisions, but should Government continue their Bounty a little longer, I am persuaded the fertility of the Soil, and the advantages derived from fish and Lumber would soon restore them to those agreeable Circumstances they Sacrificed in consequence of the Late War.

I have the Honor to be, Sir,
Your most obedient &
Very Humble Serv't,
Samuel Goldsbury.

Edward Winslow to Ward Chipman.

Granville, March 2nd, 1785.
Wednesday Noon.

Dr. Chip;—The receipt of Marston's letters relative to my land matters have given me infinite concern and the more because I am this inst. preparing to step into a sleigh to set off for Halifax.

When I candidly and openly communicated to Mr. Odell the papers relative to Prince William — I told him there was a strip of land containing 3 or 4,000 acres, and including a small River* at the upper end of Prince William, which had been applied for by Gen'ls Fox & Clarke, and that Gov'r Parr had given the most positive assurances to Gen'l Fox and repeated 'em to me, that the Patent should be made out for them, but that Gen'l Fox from principles of delicacy would not avail himself of the Gov-rs offer until Patents for others were obtained, nor indeed until it was determined that Gentlemen of the Line were considered as entitled to Grants. As his agent, I acted from the same principle, and I suggested to Mr. Odell that if Gov'r Carleton decided against giving grants to

*The Pokiok River.

absentees (which I thought he ought) I would apply in behalf of myself and several of my friends as real settlers in the country for that very tract, but that I could make no formal application as Mr. Davidson was absent and I could not describe the premises with any degree of accuracy. I however requested, as no material inconvenience could arise from suspending the Grant of that tract until my return, that he would postpone the consideration of the business, and from his answer I supposed there was no risque of its being granted. Mr. Odell will also recollect that I mentioned a stream called Gowac* on the other side the river where I proposed building a saw mill with Mr. David Eason, formerly Superintendent of Indian affairs on the river St. John's, a man of merit and who has rendered essential services to Government, that I begged in his behalf to state his pretentions and solicit a grant on that river. I also gave Mr. Odell a pencil'd memorandum of the names of the place which he say'd he would place among the other papers and was very explicit in saying that he thought nothing farther on my part was necessary to be done. I have accordingly stipulated with some degree of solemnity with Mr. Eason. I have procured all my materials, and have made a written contract to build the saw mill. Eason is preparing to take passage by the next packet in expectation of obtaining such licence as will enable him to go on with spirit and security in erecting the buildings. If the land which it is necessary to possess for that purpose falls within a Block assigned to a provincial Corps — it is a matter of notoriety that there is a large overplus for each regiment, and I should think a work of such public utility will be encouraged, and that the regiment or settlers would not oppose a Grant within their general limits for a business of so much importance to the vicinity. I however (as this has become a very serious matter to me) have earnestly to request that you as my attorney will on Eason's arrival form an application for the tract which he will point out, as my proportion of land as Muster Master General, &c., and that you will also draw for him a memorial stating his pretentions.

My dear Chip, I cannot enlarge — I do request that you would take Eason by the hand instantly on his arrival — that you would enter most zealously into this business — that you would spare no pains — that you will consider it as of the last importance to me. He is perfectly intelligible, sensible and plain. If for want of any form or nonsensical ceremony I fail in obtaining land on which I can commence my exertions, I shall be the merest mumchance at New Brunswick. I shall at the expiration of another year be precisely where I was at the end of the last, indeed I

*The Coac Stream in Queensbury is meant. David Eason was one of the pre-Loyalist settlers of the County of Annapolis, N. S., and some references to his family will be found in the History of Annapolis County, by Calnek and Savary.

cannot afford to change my ground on any other idea than that of being immediately employed. My office* there is evidently of no consequence — I have very little money; my expenses must increase there and I give up a certain and considerable income here. All these considerations vanished like smoke while I anticipated a fixture there and a chance of exerting on a very large scale, but the impediments have disconcerted me, and I shall wait with the most eager impatience at Halifax until I know the result of Eason's negotiation. Surely it must be secund'm form'm for you to apply in my behalf. I repeat my hopes that the disagreeable nature of the business will not deter you from pursuing it.

Point out anything that can be done by me. Had not my long absence from head quarters rendered an immediate return necessary I would have made another trip across the Bay without hesitation, but this is impossible. Or had an idea been suggested to me that my presence was necessary to effect this business I would not have left the Country until this hour.

I wish this matter to be a secret, only that you would converse with Odell, and as yet not suggest that I feel distressed at his inattention and indifference in this matter. I had begun a letter to him, I found myself incapable of finishing it. I may be wrong in my conjectures, but at present I think I have not been fairly dealt with.

All the other parts of your letter shall be attended to, I have waited 3 days for Dalziel's† arrival. Thompson is now so importunate and pressing that I must desist. Continue to write me — the expresses pass every week. My promised letter shall be ready by the very first conveyance.

Every circumstance worth knowing shall be most faithfully transmitted from Halifax.

Make apologies for me to Donaldson and Hailes, I write 'em both. [Remainder, if any, missing.]

Daniel Hammill to Mrs. E. Winslow.

Windsor, Saturday Evening, 5th March, 1785.

Madam,—I am happy in having an opportunity to acquaint you of the safe arrival of your Dear Partner at this place, accompanied by Major Thompson: they this day set out again for Halifax, where they intend to arrive Tomorrow. It is well they have got so far on their journey for there is every appearance of a Thaw.

I am bound in point of Gratitude, as well as a firm promise to Mrs. Hammill, to return you our most sincere thanks for the many marks of Friendship, favour and attention, which you have on all occasions been pleased to shew to her, during my long absence, and more especially the situation she was in by being so long in that disagreeable Cottage.

*As surrogate of the province.

†See Major Studholme's letter under date 9th May, 1784.

Mrs. Hammill laments her not having had an opportunity of seeing you before she left Granville. But rest assured you have her hearty wishes for your health, happiness and success wherever the sport of Fortune may toss you or herself hereafter. She and the children arrived here after a pleasant journey of three days all well and she is much elated with the change of her situation, and would think herself happy she says had she but three families from your neighborhood viz; Yourself, Mr. James and Mr. Williams.

However this seems to be a very good neighborhood, and all the first families in this place have been to see her, and been very kind.

You will accept the united and kindest wishes and regards from Mrs. Hammill and myself Madam,

Your much obliged
Humble Servant,
Daniel Hammill.

Brook Watson to Edward Winslow.

London, 6th March, 1785.

Dear Sir,—By your good Sister I sit down to write in answer to your obliging letters of November the 6th & 13th. the latter I thought proper for the perusal of Lord Sydney and gave it to his Secretary for that purpose, and have but recently received it back. The papers which you obligingly sent me have proved useful; thank you for them and for the general information contained in your letters. The particular Return which you promise will be very acceptable in a public view. I am inexpressibly gratified by Gov'r Carleton's proclamation, and the fixed resolution which, I am told, my Loyal friends of that Province have come to, not to suffer any commercial intercourse with any of the American States. These points firmly adhered to will infallibly secure prosperity to the Province and honour to its people; it has ample capability and demands nothing but wisdom and resolution to make it more desirable than any of the revolted countries. Could a staple article of commerce between it & England be there produced the most solid advantages would thereby arise, and methinks Hemp & Flax might be cultivated with success. Could the Flax of New Holland be introduced and accord with your soil, 'twould be better than the mines of South America to Spain, but there is not now a plant or a seed of it in England, or it should be sent you. China Hemp is also very fine. I have sent a gallon by the St. Lawrence directed to Gov'r Carleton — it's in a small bag; most desirous I am it should be sown this Spring for should it remain over to the next it will probably perish.

Your sister will inform you what has been done towards proving your Father's losses, and procuring something towards the support of your Mother and Sisters; which altho' not equal to my wish comes up to my expectation.

I am dear Sir,
Your faithful H'ble Serv't
Brook Watson.

Ward Chipman to Edward Winslow.

6th March, 1785.

My dear Winslow;—I have only time to acknowledge the receipt of yours by Dalziel and to assure you that I will exert myself in attending to all your commands. By the next conveyance I shall write you fully. I am much perplexed, I have much to say. I wish I could see you, but this is in vain.

I hope you are safe in Halifax and find everything to your mind. I want a long, serious, particular, old-fashioned, circumstantial letter from you. You must write, I have nobody to talk to and am ready to burst.

Do you know a certain Miss Penn Winslow? If she remains in Halifax, tell her she had better take care of herself, her neglect of her friend Chip is intolerable, bad as he is. However tell her, your Mama, and that little enchanting rattle-headed Sall. Miller that I long to see them. Adieu. God bless you forever, Amen, prays

Chip.

P. S. If you have an opportunity, send me a little assortment of stationery. I am distressed for some and can purchase none. Odell often reminds me of some more blank books to come from you.

William Tyng to Jonathan Odell.

Prospect Farm (Gagetown) 9th March, 1785.

Dear Sir,—I take the liberty to inclose a paper containing two valuations of the same lotts — those lots were in possession of old inhabitants and were by order of Governor Parr numbered and drawn for by the Refugees. When the Agents were in Halifax the Governor gave directions that the improvements should be valued and paid for by the refugees who drew them. We accordingly appointed two discreet persons on behalf of the loyalists and the old inhabitants chose two for themselves. When they went upon the business they very soon differed in their prices and nothing conclusive took place.

It is I think very evident that the appraisers for the old inhabitants have been unreasonable in the value they have set upon some spots. I

cannot conceive any improvements upon this river can be worth £5. 10. per acre besides the first cost or value of the land.

I am dear Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Wm. Tyng.

Joseph Chew to Edward Winslow.

London, 10th March, 1785.

My Dear Friend,—This will be delivered to you by your good Sister who I really have not seen so often as I earnestly desired. * * * I hope soon to have all my matters finished so as to leave this country, which believe me I am most sincerely tired of, and where that Hospitality I have ever been used to is possessed by very few. I depend on you my dear friend not to lose sight of my Interest about the Lands, Nova Scotia being my object, and a near neighbour to you your sisters and family my hope. I shall endeavor when I leave this, first to come to Halifax, but as the arrangements for Canada are not made I cannot absolutely determine, however, this I am sure of, every assistance and good office that can be will be done for me by Sir John Johnson, who is greatly pleased at the part I took in behalf of his claims on my arrival in London, which prevented his being excluded, as many others are, (unless some new act is passed for receiving them). This is a strange world, what think you of the new appointment of a Consul General and of the Person appointed ?

As our friend Mr. Coffin sends you the Papers, I refer you to them for the Squabbles in the House of Commons. The outs long to come in and those who are in long to keep their places, while luxury, dissipation, &c, prevail amongst all classes.

I will only once more request you — indeed I know you will take care of my Interest. I will repay you with thanks and information in the line of Gardening, &c. * *

I am my dear Sir,

Your faithful friend and

Affectionate H'ble Servant

Jos. Chew.*

Ward Chipman to Edward Winslow.

St. Johns, 20th Mar. '85.

My dear Winslow—Eason is arrived and I have been ever since industriously executing your commands respecting his business. I memorial'd for the Gowac [Coac, in the Parish of Queensbury] Creek in your name, and

*See biographical note under Dec. 17, 1797.

an enquiry was immediately directed to discover whether the place was granted — fortunately Davidson the Surveyor was here & told us the creek you meant was a much better one Poqueyuck [Pokiok] Creek within Gen'l Fox's Reserve, that he had often conversed with you on the subject. I called a meeting of Davidson, Eason & Mr. Hazen, we pro'd it & con'd it [discussed it pro & con] & unanimously determined at last to push for this stream. The difficulty was, that the Reserve had long been determined not to be kept & several applications were made for the whole of it. I at once determined to dash in a new memorial, & stated that you went up the River in 1783 on purpose to explore this Creek, that in consequence of assurances of having it granted you, you had at great expense & pains got every necessary implement prepared for erecting a Saw-Mill, had contracted with several persons to carry on the business, who were now waiting only till you would get the land assigned to you, & that any delay would be ruinous. This memorial I presented, informing the Gov'r & Council that I had mistaken the boundaries in the first memorial, which I beg'd leave to withdraw. A warrant of Survey was ordered for your 1000 acres within the Reserve, including the Creek — it is made out, Davidson has it in his pocket & goes off this day to complete this business & make his return, he promises to take every pains to please you. Eason & he have settled it between them. I tho't it best at any rate that you should have the right of soil where the mill was to be placed in the present instance, indeed nobody but you could have obtained the spot. Eason has of course suspended any application for lands for himself, as he can only obtain 200 acres at furthest for the present. He has however desired Davidson to enquire who has drawn the Gowac Creek, it has fallen to some of the Queen's Rangers, Davidson thinks Privates, in which case Davidson (if he can make a very cheap bargain & thinks it worth while) is to contract for it. And now my dear Winslow, knowing your very enterprizing spirit and as your friend in your office says, your delight "in grand systems," I a little fear you will run too fast. What sort of a bargain have you made with Eason? are you to advance money, to get the business on? if so, depend upon it it will not answer. Is he altogether competent to the purpose? It seems to me he does not like work much himself. I know nothing of this matter, but I know you have sometimes been mistaken. Sat. Verb. Sap.

I have a thousand things to say to you but I dare not, will not, commit them to Paper. Some of them with fear and trembling I have already hinted. When do you intend coming here, or do you mean it at all? I am most heartily tired of the present system of house-keeping, and could

not stand it a day longer but in the hope of speedy relief*. If you mean to remove your family, it will be best to write a line yourself to Marston & Hailes suggesting the time, and the inconvenience of their continuing in the house, also to Hazen intimating such alterations as you may think necessary in the house.

I can't help recurring to the subject of your engagement with Eason. I have talked with Hazen & Major Coffin on the business of Saw Mills—they are clearly of opinion, that with all possible industry & exertion it will be a number of years before the first expense of setting the mill a going will be cleared, that this can never be done but by a man who is upon the spot himself & will work like a horse. Coffin says his Creek† is more advantageously situated than any one in the Province, that the land about it abounds in Timber, that a vessel of 50 tons can lie at the Spot, that he has minutely calculated every expense necessarily attending it, & that was it not at his door almost, where he can see to every thing himself, he must sink money by it, that when he has every advantage in the Stream, no Damm to make or banks to level, the least expense of erecting his mill will be £200. That Nase‡ who will work like a horse himself is to be jointly concerned, and that the utmost profit that can be calculated upon with all these advantages is £100 a year between them both.

I understand from Eason that he has engaged a Master workman who perfectly understands the business, so that he is himself to be Superintendent only. I really feel very anxious about this undertaking of yours, and unless your engagement with him is for you to be at no further expense or advance & to take a proportion of the profits I do not believe it will answer —and in that case I fear you will barely save yourself from being involved by the concern. I know nothing of Eason, but he does not appear to me to be the man. I make no apology for all this my dear Winslow, you know my heart & my motives, and you after all are the best Judge.

I have written you several scraps of letters. I pray your attention to them all—the objects they refer to are serious.

22nd. Mr. Andrews returned & not a line from you. I am glad to hear you had been safe in Halifax four days when he came away.

Adieu. God bless you forever, prays

Chip.

Why did you not let me know Penn‖ was dead?

*Ward Chipman married in 1786 Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the Honorable William Hazen of Portland Point. He built the "Chipman House" the following year, which is still standing. It was in its day deemed quite a mansion, and has entertained royal visitors—the Duke of Kent in 1794, and his grandson, King Edward VII., in 1860.

†Nerepis Creek at Westfield.

‡Henry Nase—See biographical note under date 12th August, 1783.

‖This was ironical, because she had not written or sent any messages to him. See closing part of Winslow's letter of 4th April, 1785.

OLD CHIPMAN HOUSE AT SAINT JOHN.

If you can get made for me such a closet for Papers with divisions, apartments, &c, as you have in your office, it will serve me most essentially; there is no season'd stuff or Joiner here. I cannot do without one.

Edward Winslow to Ward Chipman.

Halifax, 25th March 1785.

My dear Fellow,—By the schooner Halifax Packet, Captain Fullerton, I send a small assortment of stationery, per invoice, which I hope will reach you in good order. If this vessel arrives before Mr. Deblois don't suspect me of inattention or breach of promise, by him I will write fully & freely. He will set off for New Brunswick in a few days.

In the box with your stationery is a venerable Coat of Arms* which I authorize you to present to the Council Chamber, or any other respectable public Room, which you shall think best entitled to it. They (Lyon & Unicorn) were constant members of the Council at Boston (by mandamus)—ran away when the others did—have suffered—are of course Refugees, & have a claim for residence at New Brunswick.

Blowers acquaints me that he ships a quantity of Blank books for Mr. Odell so that there can be no occasion for my sending any.

Cordially yours,

Ed. Winslow.

Edward Winslow to Ward Chipman.

Halifax, 27th March, 1785.

Dear Chip,—I never was more embarrassed than at this moment. When I gave you assurances that I would write an opinion relative to the enormous Grants in the Province of New Brunswick, I thought myself master of the subject, and that I cou'd advance arguments which wou'd be in some degree satisfactory to you; but on making a serious effort such variety of difficulties crowded on my mind, as effectually disconcerted me. I will however, endeavor to throw together such observations as have occurred. I shall do it without form or order—without taking any pains to select expressions, and without regarding whether my remarks are new or not.

* * * * * * *

The irregular manner in which Grants have been made increase the

*This famous coat of arms was at first placed in a building on Germain street, where John McMillan's residence now stands. The building was fitted up as a church, but not consecrated. The courts of justice met there, also the city council. After the erection of Trinity church the coat of arms was placed upon its walls. It was saved at the time of the great fire in 1877 by Captain Frank B. Hazen, and is now fixed over the west door of new Trinity church.

difficulties which attend the detection of fraud. The Patents, I am told do not (in many instances) carry on their face any reason for the Grant, but it appears to be of the mere motion of the King. This I am also told is the case in Spry's grant. Yet I shou'd suppose this circumstance wou'd not preclude an enquiry, and if my position is right, I think Mr. Spry is palpably liable.

Remember Chipman I mean this letter for a bold deposit of my own sentiments in the bosom of my friend, the subject is important to my Country and I spurn the idea of ambiguity.

To obtain such a tract of land Mr. Spry* must have assigned some reason. No other cou'd have been induc'd but his services. It is too invidious a task to anticipate an enquiry on this head, and I wou'd carefully avoid a ludicrous observation when writing on a subject so serious, but 'tis necessary to observe that the rank† Mr. Spry held before the late War was too inconsiderable to found a claim for such a reward. It must therefore have been his services during the late War. And what were these? 'Tis a fair question. He was Chief Engineer in a Camp of Repose. He never heard a Cannon but at a public Salute. He erected a Citadel‡ which was calculated to annoy only the Chest which paid for it. He amass'd immense wealth, liv'd like a Prince, and retir'd like a Nabob.

In a Country where the principle prevails that Equity is the foundation of Law, can it be possible that land thus bestowed may not be deemed forfeit on enquiry? especially at a time when hundreds of the faithful and Meritorious servants of the King are literally suffering for want of Bread which that ground wou'd produce in abundance? I am aware of the variety of perplexities that must attend this kind of investigation— they are in formidable array before me. It remains with men skilled in the formalities of Law to devise the method—I have no capacity for that service. There are various other species of Deception which in my opinion must operate to the same point. A man applies for land, and gives a description; he avers that it does not interfere with the general settlement of the country, but that a compliance with the stipulated conditions will redound to the public benefit. He has villainy to propose and interest to furnish a bribe to a mercenary surveyor, who reports a much less quantity than is in fact contain'd within the limits, meaning that the patentee

*Captain William Spry, during the time he was chief engineer in Nova Scotia, procured for himself extensive grants of land on the River St. John in the vicinity of Gagetown and on the opposite side of the river. He became a brigadier general, and eventually derived substantial advantage from his estate in New Brunswick, although a part was forfeited for non-performance of the conditions of the grants. See "Portland Point" series of articles in the New Brunswick Magazine for interesting particulars relating to these grants.

†That is the rank of captain.

‡This was at Halifax.

shou'd avail himself of the general clause "more or less." He describes the situation to be such that it will not militate with the King's Instructions. On investigation it appears that the grant effectually bars the settlement of the District—that it is a monopoly of the good land, and renders the adjacent country useless. Of course the object of government (which was not the aggrandizement of an individual but the general good) is defeated, and by the rascality of the applicant, and the connivance of the surveyor, the individual possesses a much more extensive and valuable territory than was intended. This must be cause of forfeiture not of the surplusage only but of the whole, because as no particular part can be ascertained as overplus, of course no particular part can be described as forfeit. The Grant must be invalid. If the Grantee has just pretensions to any proportion it may be described and re-granted. Whenever a process in equity is instituted against Spry's grant I believe you will find proof:—That the application was deceitful—that the survey was false—and that the grant was injurious to the Country and repugnant to the King's Instructions. Its repugnance to the King's Instructions, ought alone to work it's damation. * * * *

A lunatic Governor may in an hour of frenzy convey all the sea coast to a single person, but surely (without a republican idea, which God knows I abhor) the public have such kind of control over the actions of their officers, as to prevent the unsalutary effects of such dementation. The general principles of the Constitution will interfere to prevent Injuries so gross. Without this controul (I don't like the word) the Government wou'd be absolute indeed. Suppose the King instructs his representative to lease a particular tract and the Governor instead of leasing aliens and conveys the fee simple, Will the deed be good? Suppose he exceeds in quantity to particular persons—Will the King support, and the Constitution justify it? Forbid it Reason! and (if the blasted term had not been perverted and become offensive) I wou'd add—Forbid it Liberty!

The observations here made will apply to some of the grants recently passed, more forcibly than even to Spry's. In the instance of Hauser,* the Governor of this Province cannot justify the Grant in any other way than by an explicit acknowledgment of the Deception, both as to the rank and character of the man, and the circumstances, situation and quantity of the land. If that acknowledgment is not made on a process in Chancery and the facts thereby proved to the satisfaction of the Court, I will venture to affirm that a regular representation and complaint will be exhibited in which certain facts will be stated and proved. They are of a nature too tender to be touch'd by me, at present.

*Frederick Hauser was an agent for the Loyalists who came to Annapolis, N. S., in October, 1782. From thence he came to New Brunswick. He surveyed many of the Loyalist grants, and procured for himself on June 22, 1784, a grant of 809 acres at Gagetown. See under date 19th June, 1784, for biographical note.

The Chief Justice's Grant of Sugar Island* is in some respects similar to Hauser's, only that there is one circumstance peculiar to that. The Island was indisputably included in the general location of land to the provincials—drawn for, and in the actual possession of particular Corps. A Deception must of course be acknowledged, or something worse. This grant has already been the subject of my animadversions, and Mr. Odell has what I call an honest state of facts respecting it, and 'tis painful to repeat 'em. It is melancholy indeed that two such instances should have happened. Integrity blushes at the recollection of 'em, and the most intrepid Friend to Government will shudder at the indignation which arises on contemplating the probable consequences of such iniquity—but enough under this head, I wax warm.

It has been a question even in this Province [Nova Scotia], where they "swallow camels without a hiccup", whether the grantee by non-compliance with the conditions within the time limited, does not forfeit, even if the conditions at the issuing of the scire facias are actually fulfilled. I believe it has been determined here that the land is not forfeited in those cases, but there's such costiveness in the professional gentry that one cannot obtain any information, and there's such pliability of temper in some of 'em that their opinions seem the effect of complaisance rather than of reason. I understand that the Attorney-General has wrote you on this subject. It's one of those unfortunate questions where much may be say'd on both sides, but it appears to me that Justice leans towards a forfeiture unless sufficient cause can be assign'd for the delinquency of the Grantee. Various considerations will also arise relative to the manner of Compliance. A Grantee conditions to cultivate a certain proportion of the land, to settle a certain number of inhabitants, &c. These he neglects, but a number of people driven by necessity, led by mistake, or from other adventitious circumstances take possession, and (although Trespassers) cultivate and improve the soil and are thereby the involuntary causes of a compliance with the conditions. The question (of course) is whether the Patantee shall avail himself of this accidental settlement, in which he has neither agency or merit, and thereby secure his property. The law-givers I suppose cou'd not anticipate such events, and may not have pointed out remedies in such cases, but it must be allowed that the original intention of Government is perverted. When Government stipulates with an Individual, as in these patents, it certainly expects to be benefited by

*Chief Justice Bryan Finucane, when investigating the complaints of the Loyalists in connection with their land grants, seems rather inconsistently to have obtained for himself a grant of Sugar Island, the largest island in the Keswick group, above Fredericton. His title was disputed by Col. Isaac Allen and others. There was litigation, and the Finucanes lost. See Lawrence's Foot Prints, p. 59; see also James Glenie's rabid utterances in Canadian Archives for 1895, under New Brunswick, pp. 18, 19.

the personal exertion of the Grantee. I don't mean the mere manual labour—but the settlement shall be formed under his immediate direction, and at his particular expense. Without this, What does Government get by the bargain? or rather what does it not lose? Settlers that would otherwise extend the cultivation of the Country, are by a sort of finesse, made the instruments to confirm the title of land already granted to indolent patentees, and government is at once cheated of its land and of its settlers. This cannot be right. Again—The Grantee agrees to clear a certain number of acres—to erect buildings, etc. When the enquiry commences it is evident that the land is not cleared (agreable to the spirit and intention)—a few trees are felled, but there's no serious efficient operation of Agriculture—logs are piled together to form something like an house, which drops perhaps without ever being inhabited. Is Government (pardon the expression) to be humbugged at this rate? and shall titles be confirm'd by such shameful evasions?

I am mortified, Chipman, at the recollection that this immense epistle is written to a man of great professional abilities. If all my opinions are absurd my motive will save me from censure. I feel a degree of anxiety respecting the Government of New Brunswick that exceeds anything I ever experienc'd before. The eyes of the world seem to be fixed on that country, the exalted reputation of the Governor, the abilities and integrity of the public officers have produced a universal confidence, and mankind appear to expect a detection of frauds, encouragement of industry and virtue, and an impartial distribution of justice. * * *

I have already advanced and I repeat, that the Corps who now have possession of Sugar Island, did not originally enter as Intruders, but gained the possession under the authority and sanction of the Governour, and in my idea they were by no means liable, even before his grant to Mr. Finucane, to be dispossessed by his own personal authority.

* * * * * *

It is too late for the Governour of Nova Scotia either to take an Inquest of office, or to make any new effectual Grant of this Island the partition of the Province puts both objects equally out of his power. I have no doubt of the propriety of the Governour of New Brunswick's making a new grant of the Island to the present possessors without taking any notice of the former Grant, but I do not see the expediency of such a measure, because the tenants in possession, may in the mere right of possession, legally defend themselves against any ejectment that can be brought by Mr. Finucane. I hope Col. Allen and all the parties concerned will have the same ideas of the matter, and will dispute it in the Courts of Law, by inches.

I have already say'd enough by way of apology for any incorrectness

or impropriety of expression. I've only to add that I am with the most sincere affection and regard Dear Chip,

Your Faithful Friend

Ed. Winslow.

Thomas Knox to Edward Winslow.

Parr-town March 30th, 1785.

My dear Colonel;—As I lost a part of my baggage on its way to me from Windsor (which I can very ill afford since the loss of my appointment) I must beg the favour of you to inform me whether any allowance would be made me if I was to send in an account.

The inability of your Stores at Halifax to furnish us with a regular supply of provisions is not only attended with great inconvenience to all but very serious distress to many.

The Governor has taken upon himself to purchase a quantity of flour to secure the settlers up the River from perishing in the approaching season when the ice will begin to break up, and when it will be impossible for them for some weeks to procure assistance from hence, let their condition be ever so deplorable. The little supplies which have been forwarded by order of the General came very seasonably, but these you may easily conceive have been only a temporary support and greatly inadequate to the claims of the needy. They have however been dealt out with a sparing hand by a parsimonious Commissary, and the old business of striking off the idle, the dissolute and the wealthy is now in full practice. A great part of my time is devoted to this business of discrimination and drawing the line between those who are on their land, and those who are not. In favor of the former I have given orders for six weeks flour and two weeks pork, which it is presumed may last them till they can come down with Boats, by which time I hope we will receive a further supply, and of the latter, such only as have not obtained Grants of Land and who cannot procure assistance by any other means, are vitualled every two weeks. Every man who sold his land (and it is not attended with much difficulty to trace them by the Records) has been struck off. I am sorry for your friends of Block No. 1* who have scarcely a ration left among them. This attention has almost the effect of a second muster. I am persuaded that few casualties† have happened since the last that have not been discovered.

*Block No. 1 was that situate on the Nashwaak and below it on the River St. John, in the parish of St. Mary's, York County. It was assigned to the Maryland Loyalists.

†"Casualties"—the term used in the muster roll as signifying that a man was no longer to be retained on the roll for rations and allowance. The "casualty" might be death, removal from the district, or engaging in some trade or business, and leaving the lands drawn unoccupied instead of settling thereon.

Your friends are all well. Be pleased to pay my respects to the Commander in Chief.

I am Dr. Sir, Your most obed't Servt.

Thos. Knox.*

Edward Winslow to Ward Chipman.

Halifax, 31st March, 1785.

Dear Chip;— * * * * You know I was born in a land of psalmody. For several years together there was nothing heard but old men & women bawling psalms and young men and maids screeching hymns. There was one old man who was a Teacher & Composer and I remember to have seen him in the very act of composition. He sat by a joint stool with a pen, ink & little book, & between his legs he held a half-grown kitten which he occasionally twigged by the tail or plucked by the ears. I (being a mere novice) asked what the devil he was about? With wonderful simplicity & gravity he answered that out of her squeeling he might possibly pick up a sound that would assist him in forming a tune.

Application. I'm willing on any occasion to be your kitten only I chuse to squeel without being pinched or pulled. If in the late instance there's a single note that will contribute to your amusement or assistance, you have only to stroke me and I'll squeel again.

I'll now go on to give you an account of all my proceedings since I left you. Tho' I parted with General C———† apparently on the best terms, received confidential Instructions, &c, &c, you may remember I suggested a possibility that he would be beset, and that the industrious malice of my enemies might excite a jealousy that my respect & attention was withdrawn from him and directed to another object. All this I anticipated—it however did not hinder the performance of my duty. The first express after I returned to Annapolis brought a full confirmation that I was right in my conjectures. Cool acknowledgements of my letters and implied censures on some parts of my conduct formed my packet from Head Quarters. A spirited, pointed, independent answer saved me from any further inconveniences. I determined on a line of conduct & I pursued it * * * sat quietly down with my wife & children & laughed at their folly. When I thought it necessary I returned, and I

*Thomas Knox was at this time deputy commissary of musters on the River St. John, under direction of Edward Winslow as muster master general. The general muster in 1784 occupied his time from about the first of June to the end of September. He gave the sum total of the Loyalists on the St. John River as: Men, 4,131; women, 1,719; children, 3,068; servants, 441; total, 9,359.

Even at this early period some of the Loyalists had abandoned their idea of becoming farmers and had deserted their locations.

†General Campbell, commander in chief of the forces in Nova Scotia.

was received (as Mr. Thomas says) "with that redundancy of complaisance which men of weak minds are betrayed into by a conviction of error." I however took not the least notice of the business but returned to the same track of duty which I had formerly pursued and, to appearance, I am now in the same degree of estimation, if not higher, than before my departure, but my thermometer is so peculiarly constructed that the spirit does not circulate with perfect regularity.

Yet I am not in a situation to make my bow. The very great expenses to which I have been unavoidably exposed, without being guilty of one extravagant action have embarassed me so considerably that I cannot immediately quit. If Sally succeeds in England I shall be relieved of what (was I able to support 'em) would not be considered a burden, but in my present situation is a weight which added to my own family fairly sinks me. On her success depends in some degree my operations. I cannot leave these unfortunate friends,* and cannot remove them without assistance. If we are fortunate in our application I shall sound a retreat instantly and I have no fears if I can relieve myself from present embarrassments but that with proper industry & economy I shall live like a [word indecipherable.]

From news that has lately arrived from England it has been confidently asserted here that a new arrangement of officers will take place in your country & there has been a report by the way of the west that Gov. C† is certainly appointed to the Province of Canada. If so I may be secure in the appointment originally intended. I however have my doubts upon the subject. As some events may take place of great importance to me, & the military Commandant may be relieved or recalled, in which case 'twould be dishonourable in me to leave him till the final close of his command—I mean if near at hand. His next letters may contain a disapprobation of his conduct, and from various considerations I feel engaged to vindicate him. [Remainder wanting.]

Penelope Winslow to Ward Chipman.

Halifax, April 2d, [1785.]

With every expression of Gratitude I thank you my good Friend for your two last letters. Indeed my dear Chippy it is not you that are under obligations—it is our family that are infinitely indebted to you for every

*The reference manifestly is to his mother and sisters. Sarah Winslow when in England was greatly assisted by Brook Watson, and the pension secured on that occasion was enjoyed by the mother and sisters throughout the course of their lives.

†Governor Carleton is meant. Had he gone to Quebec, in all probability Jonathan Odell would have accompanied him, and in that event Winslow hoped to have succeeded as secretary for New Brunswick.

friendly affection and delicate attention. The interested part you have taken in the happiness of our unfortunate family, the tender attachment you discovered for my dear departed Father by innumerable methods to relieve or lessen the inquietudes of his wounded mind—can never, never be forgotten till this heart of mine ceases to beat—& if we are allowed to carry our passions into the other World of Love and Gratitude sure I am my sisterly tenderness and grateful sentiments of you will rest with me above the stars.

You express an anxious wish to know what our views & intentions are; shall I confess my weakness by assuring you I feel myself a mere machine. I have not judgment to learn what step to take that will be most for our peace; my resolution is miserable, my spirits at a low ebb. With becoming firmness I supported our first great reverse of fortunes. I bid a long farewell to an elegant house, furniture, native place and all its pleasures with but little emotion save wounded pride. From a great share of vivacity & a tolerable good disposition I was not only reconciled but happy at New York. The banishment to this ruder World you are a witness I submitted to with some degree of chearfulness, but alas the shaft of affliction had not then reached me—the final separation from my Father, friend and Companion * * * At times Life is indifferent to me & to pleasure I am a stranger. But what a tax am I imposing on you my Friend. My complaints I acknowledge are but a poor reward for your friendship, will you forgive me? From the idea that you will I am more collected & will assure you that in my rational hours I exert every faculty of my mind to know what plan we had better pursue. The original one of building a House on our land near the Manor, I think will be attended with many great inconveniences. * * My inclination leads me to prefer Carleton to our rural Retreat—from only this belief that My Mother, Sally & myself cannot be of the least advantage in cultivating lands. We are ignorant & unequal to the undertaking, & my brother now seems to be of that opinion & wishes a small house might be put upon his lot at Carleton. But will not building be too expensive, or can it be done without involving ourselves and friends? * *

You wish to know how we have spent our time this winter. We really have enjoyed many Blessings; our House is the most comfortable of any one I know; Edward's office has generously supply'd us with Fuel for three rooms—& don't think I have secluded myself from visiting & receiving my friends on the Parade. I assure you I sometimes give dinners to a charming circle of Ladies & my suppers are not more humble than those you shared with us in Brewer Lane.

Mrs. Haliburton's family & ours are like one, seldom separate. Mrs. Halliburton's is the most delicate mind in the World, sensible & lively.

Mary is really a lovely Girl & a most pleasing companion—she spent the last week with me. * * * Col. Upham still continues miserable. The Rheumatism has attacked him most severely. He can only be removed from the bed to the fire & his impatient spirit renders him an object of compassion. I hope the mild air of May will have an happy effect on him. He thinks if he could be conveyed to [New] Brunswick he would be a new man.

Your other friends are well, pursuing pleasure with ardour. Feasting, card playing & dancing is the great business of Life at Halifax, one eternal round—the votarys of pleasure complain of being fatigued & want variety of amusements. The new Imported Ladies continue to be the Belles. The Princes, Taylors & Halliburtons are totally eclipsed and the Millers, Betsy and Matty Matthews, are the admiration of all the Beaus. The High Sheriff* has been sighing at the feet of Miss Miller. The world take the liberty to condemn her as romantic for rejecting his hand. The Newtonian race, who you know are connected with Mr. Green, are mortified & have advised & it is said have prevailed with him to transfer his affections to Harriet Matthews. With this he readily complyed & found her not reluctant. The High Sheriff enjoys all the pomp of this pompous Town and you would, by the style & state he take upon himself, swear he was born a Halifaxian—gives dinners two or three times a week & tomorrow evening all the Noblesse are to be entertained at his house, a Ball and supper superb. Charming doings is it not, don't you envy the gay circle? Everybody here has independent fortunes—at least of this I am sure that there is not a family in this place, that figures at all, can spend less than five or six hundred [pounds] a year. The Princes I am really distressed for—the House, the Coach, &c, is to be disposed of—the Ladies are going to New England, the Dr. to New Brunswick; what a cruel reverse. The Attorney Gen'l & Lady are at the summit of this world's bliss; they dine with his Excellency one week & his Excellency & Chief Justice with them the next. * * * Not a word from Great Britain. It is expected that the St. Lawrence will arrive in a few days. I think Sally Winslow would not dare to cross the Atlantic at this early season. I know not what to wish or expect; some important intelligence must soon reach us, to despair is impious. I will cherish the fond hope that some days of content may yet be alloted to her who is with esteem and affection,

Your friend

Penelope.

[P. S.] My mother is well; thanks you for your kind remembrance. Your lively rattling friend Sally says she longs to see you and desires her love —I beg her pardon, she would not for the world send love, it is compli-

*The high sheriff was Francis Green.

ments. She grows very tall & is thought handsome, but her name is Miller & it is the rage to admire all of that name. To Hailes offer my best wishes. Mr. Marston I hear is exploring the wilds of Brunswick. What think you of Dr. Bayley having serious thoughts of being one of your Province?

Sarah Winslow to Ward Chipman.

[Halifax, April, 1785.]

Confused as my head and this house is, I cannot longer omit writing a line to a Friend so highly esteemed by me as Mr. Chipman—but it must only be to tell you that I have so much to say to you upon what I have seen and heard that I must leave all until I have the pleasure of a month's conversation with you. * * * All the amusements of the Great world which I as largely partook of as perhaps any other being ever did in so short a time [in England], does not alter my determination of becoming an inhabitant of your woody country. Am told the probability is we shall remove soon, which I am perfectly ready and willing to do, provided we can have a house to put out heads in. * * For my success in England I for the present refer you to Ned and a few lines I have just now wrote my Cousin Marston. They and my good Friend Murray can inform you many particulars respecting me and I will tell you the rest ere long. My obligations to our valuable Friend Coffin I must be silent upon, for all that could be said would not in the least do him justice. * * It was in his power and inclination to do more for me than the rest of my friends could. From the first hour of my getting to London until he saw me on board ship at Gravesend his every moment was employed in my business and pleasures; how he got time to write you so much I cannot imagine. * * We talked for ever about you and I have ten million things to say to you about him and a thousand others, cannot now even mention Mrs. Siddons.

My friend Murray is this moment unexpectedly called upon to go on board. I can write no more. Remember me affectionately to Mr. Hailes and all the rest of my friends. I long to see Col. Ludlow.

Adieu, Blessings attend you prays,

S. Winslow.

Edward Winslow to Ward Chipman.

Halifax, 4th April, 1785.

Mr. Deblois is off with my Letters and Mr. James has this instant presented your's for which I offer my most cordial acknowledgements. I am vastly gratify'd at the success of your application respecting the land.

I only wish that you had applied for your own proportion at the same time and in the same place. In laying out the 1,000 acres Davidson can, and I hope will, include one of the islands which lie in front of the Gore. Lest he should not attend to this circumstance I wish you would write him. I'll relieve you at once from all your anxiety respecting Eason. I never had the most distant idea of expending or risquing another farthing of money in a saw-mill except the first cost of the irons. My intention was that he should take 'em and give me credit as a Proprietor—that he should be at all the other expense and trouble, and consider me as an owner of such part as that sum would entitle me to. If he has other apprehensions, I'm off. I am too well acquainted with saw-mills to anticipate any great profit from them, but I have experienced so many conveniences from having one in the vicinity of my settlement, that I would not relinquish the project. If Eason will not on any terms undertake the business, I can find others that will. I shall write him particularly.

The plan must now be materially altered. In our first conversation it was presumed that we were to be joint proprietors of the soil and stream, but as I am now sole proprietor, I shall make one simple proposal to him by this opportunity, which is to take all the materials at Annapolis and perform all the operations of building damming, &c, and I will consent to allow him one half the profits. This I think will be a good bargain for him and cannot be any detriment to me.

It's a devilish good method you have of telling me that you have monstrous serious things to communicate but don't chuse to, it keeps one's curiosity alive. Don't be tired of house-keeping. I'll soon relieve you if God in his wrath does not punish me for my original sin and all my actual transgressions together, by keeping me in this damnable place. You'll see by my long letter what my present situation is, I need not repeat my grievances. I think, Chippy, if I can get my family across, that (with the management of my very good wife) we shall be able to live comfortably and without great expense. The instant I can determine on the time of removal I shall notify all parties concerned in form, and (as some people are dull of apprehension and not apt to take hints) I will write plain English. I shall send my own paper closet by the very first conveyance, which you'll take possession of and keep till I call for it. When I come to New Brunswick I'll bring another. A sloop sails this day with provisions for St. John's and I have just returned from an enquiry whether I could get a berth for your closet. I find it's impracticable but I'll not let another opportunity pass. The vessel is chock full, her hatches battened and the blasted little hole of a cabin is not big enough to receive the thing and I dare not trust such a machine on deck. Mr. Byles has also returned from the Secretary's office where he made formal

application for a copy of Mr. Hauser's memorial, and I send you Byles' memorandum. I have made three unsuccessful attempts to see Mr. Bulkeley* but I will persevere. If I fail tomorrow I'll write to him. I have also consulted Blowers† on the subject. He has in other instances experienced the same reluctance to give copies, &c., and he thinks Gov'r Carleton should represent to Gov'r Parr the inconveniences which individuals labor under from the repeated refusal of the public officers to perform what everybody supposes their duty. I'll begin to maneuvre tomorrow, and if that won't do I'll try another method which has generally succeeded here—that's bullying. You men in New Brunswick will ere long be convinced that patriotism is not the characteristic of Nova Scotians, and that instead of affording you information and assistance, their envy and malignity will induce 'em to throw every obstacle and impediment in your way. I am astonished that they have not art to conceal the principles by which they are actuated. Even our friend Sampson‡ appears ashamed of their conduct.

James's sudden departure obliges me to close my epistle. I hope he'll overtake Deblois. I give you Byles' memo, to save myself the trouble of telling the story. I will enlarge on the subject of the Grants when I have opportunity and will collect any information in my power.

I flatter myself, costive and cross-grained as they are, I'll get at the truth, in spite of their teeth. How can you desire me to write all my "discoveries, views, prospects, and intentions"? Why damn 'em—'tis impossible to describe 'em. My discoveries are innumerable—my views extensive as eternity—my prospects black as H— (sometimes), and my intentions variable as the wind.

Penn is not dead, at least she says so. She wrote you by Deblois I have not another moment, I therefore cannot write to Marston. Tell him by all means to obtain a lot for me at Frederick‖ He shall hear from me by the very next conveyance.

Remember me affectionately to neighbor Hazen and Family. Mr. Alexander has undertaken to furnish a set of Piano strings for Mrs. Lud-

*Hon. Richard Bulkeley accompanied Governor Cornwallis to Nova Scotia in 1749. He became secretary of the province about 1759 and continued in the office under thirteen successive governors, or until 1793, when he retired in favor of his son. On the death of Governor Parr in 1791, he was for a short time administrator of the government of Nova Scotia. He died Dec. 7, 1800, at the age of 83 years, beloved and respected by all classes of society for his amiable qualities. At his death he was judge of the admiralty, grand master of the Free Masons, and brigadier general of militia—a rank never since conferred on any militia officer in Nova Scotia.

†Attorney general of Nova Scotia. See biographical note under date Sept. 25th, 1783.

‡Attorney General Sampson Salter Blowers.

‖Fredericton evidently is meant.

low and I'll send 'em as soon as I can get 'em. Remember me to those families. Adieu. God send me a speedy and happy meeting prays

E. W.

Edward Winslow to David Eason.

Halifax, 7th April, 1785.

D'r Eason,—I have this moment received your letter, and shall see Mr. Forster tomorrow and will enquire about the saw-set, and by the first conveyance I will forward the files. I shall also send round a small quantity of provisions and sundry other articles. I have received a particular account from Mr. Chipman relative to his operations in obtaining the land & on the whole I think myself lucky. I shall leave the business of placing the mill entirely to your discretion. I shall occasionally forward such articles as I can collect here, but it is necessary for me to acquaint you before we begin, that the present embarrassment of my circumstances will effectually prevent me from advancing any further sum of money.

I have never doubted that a saw-mill in that situation will render a very handsome profit and the value will be greatly enhanced by the late determination to make St. Ann's the seat of Government. New works are going on there very soon—barracks to be built, &c, we shall be sure of a market for our lumber.

As soon as a ship arrives from England I hope to take my final departure from this place. Should you get up the river before I arrive, I will follow you. I will afford you every assistance in my power to obtain a good location of land.

I am very sincerely

Your Friend, &c,

Ed. Winslow.

Edward Winslow to Benjamin Marston.

Halifax, 10th April, 1785.

Dear Marston,—I am delighted with the idea of being abused for not having done justice to the River St. John's in my attempts to describe it.

I have not lain under this imputation long. I propheey'd that Lambton & you would be pleased with your tour, but your ideas of the beauties of St. John's will be incomplete until you see it with the advantages which nature lavishes on it in summer.

I am now shipping the Boys,* Caesar, Frank & Juba, who are to take possession of the point, and carry on such operations as may be judged most beneficial to the proprietors. In the vessel with them I have sent two large casks & inclose you an invoice of the contents. I have also desired my wife to send over to Mr. Chipman a quantity of spades, hoes, axes, pickaxes & other tools, which I request may be issued to them in such manner as you may think best. Caesar is a very discreet fellow, and you know the kind of treatment he has been accustomed to, I therefore need say nothing on that head. Frank promises fair & if he pleases he can be as good a man as any in the world. Juba is a devil—for which reason I thought he would do better with them than with his mistress. I think they may be employed very advantageously in cutting wood & cultivating that part of the land which is cleared. Frank is a tolerable carpenter & with proper directions will be able to cut the timber for the House-frame. The other articles which may arrive from time to time consigned to you can be stored in some dry place. I shall endeavor to make a collection which will be useful to myself & friends, & I hope they will be carefully preserved until my arrival among you.

A case of Rum & a quantity of Salt are among the articles which Mrs. Winslow will send from Granville, which will be issued in such way as you think best.

If Mr. Eason consents to my proposal & chuses to go on with the mill business, I shall beg the favour of you to deliver him such articles as he may have occasion for, charging him with 'em—A cask of shoes will be sent by Mrs. Winslow which I purchased here some time agoe.

It will be necessary that a place be pointed out for the [black] boys to begin to cut, it requires some judgment. I don't know even the form of the point as the boundaries are now settled. I must therefore leave the matter wholly to Major Coffin & yourself.

If it's possible to procure a good Skiff without too great expence, I should be glad to get one for Capt. Caesar, indeed I don't see how they can well do without one.

&c. &c. &c.

Ed. Winslow.

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*The three black servants or slaves.

Edward Winslow to Ward Chipman.

Halifax, 11th April, 1785.

My dear Chip,—When I tell you that Sally is arrived in the St. Lawrence and that I am surrounded with letters public and private and that I've only half an hour to prepare for the departure of an express-man, you will allow for the agitation of my mind and suppose it impossible for me to write particularly. To Marston's letter I refer you for the event of her negotiation and to other letters which I enclose from your friends for all other circumstances. I fell sensibly my dear Fellow for your disappointment* altho' I cannot help hoping that it will not be grievous in the event. Coffin's letter will undoubtedly announce Bliss's appointment, and that he is on his passage. I have not a line from Col. Fox, my letter from him is on board the "John and Ann" with Dr. Halyburton. Reports in England were current that Gov'r C. was to be removed to Canada and that it rested with Fox to determine whether he would succeed him or not.

I am endeavoring to close my matters with all possible dispatch that I may be able to join you. I anticipate no impediments but I may meet with 'em. The two Murray's and their sisters were passengers with Sally. Dan is endeavoring to settle his business 'tis uncertain how it will terminate.† Young Sewell is on board the "John & Ann" as is Sproule and several others. I shall at all events wait her arrival. I enclose you my original letter from Mr. Watson, at which I am gratify'd. It may afford the Gov'r pleasure to see it. The seed referred to shall be sent if possible by this conveyance.

There's no other news of consequence that I have heard except a change of Commodores. Sir Charles‡ goes home and a Capt. Sawyer relieves him. The Commissioner is appointed one of the Commissioners of the navy. John Temple has the appointment of a Consul General in America. Colonel Morse is married and 'tis said comes out Chief Engineer to Quebec. Mr. Mann is appointed Engineer for N. Brunswick and a Mr. Aylwin, formerly a sinecure paymaster at Cape Breton, is to pay the Troops in your Province.

Sally brought a box for you which she says has parchment in it, but that Tom Coffin enjoined it upon her that she should not send it to N. B.

*Respecting the appointment of attorney general which the home government bestowed on Jonathan Bliss, although Ward Chipman had been recommended by Governor Carleton and had been acting in the capacity of attorney general since the appointment of S. S. Blowers as attorney general of Nova Scotia. See Canadian Archives for 1895, under the head of New Brunswick, pp. 3, 4 and 8.

†From an expression in a letter among the Chipman papers written by Thos. A. Coffin, dated at London, Aug. 27, 1785, viz.: "How comes on Sally with Dan?" it would appear that a flirtation was in progress between Major Murray and Sarah Winslow but nothing came of it. See extract from this letter under date 27 Aug., 1785.

‡Sir Charles Douglas was commodore at Halifax.

without your express orders for the purpose. I don't understand it.

I have a letter half finished relative to the papers you wrote about. I can make no addition to it now, but the instant I can fetch my breath I will have at it.

Once more believe me,

Yours, Ed. Winslow.

Edward Winslow to His Wife.

Halifax, 13th April, 1785.

I suppose the express man will overtake Joe but I don't care. I'll write again.

Nothing has yet transpired to enable me to fix a time for my departure, but I most ardently hope it will be soon. If the General consents to make me an extra allowance for my trouble & services, which I have apply'd for, I can settle all my affairs & leave this town in one month without embarrassment, but I dare not speak of it for fear it may influence him in his decision. He (at present) does not suspect that I intend to be off so soon. Murray & his Brother will be with you in a few days—you know they love good eating & drinking therefore provide in season for 'em. Sally is busy in packing your fine tasty Cap & Bonnet in a large Band-Box which I'll send in a sloop now loading for Annapolis.

Go on with all your operations of gardening, &c., because if we move, I'll reap the benefit by leaving somebody to take care of it.

I send you the London papers to 2nd March, when you can spare 'em send them to Williams & Thompson. Buss the babies. I wish I cou'd buss the mother.

Affectionately & everlastingly Yours,

Ed. Winslow.

Edward Winslow to Ward Chipman.

Halifax, 21st April, 1785.

In my last I inclosed a memorandum from Mr. Byles relative to his application for transcripts from the public records at this place.

Since that time several circumstances have taken place which I shall endeavor to state with as much candor as I am capable of.

On finding that Byles's application was unsuccessful and that the answers to him had been evasive and in some degree rude, I thought necessary to make a serious business of it. I accordingly had an interview with the Secretary and Surveyor General together. In my exordium I stated:—That they might entertain ideas that my intentions were to perplex and embarrass them. I assured them they were mistaken. That I had no

other motive but to assist in elucidating a business important to Society, and which now wore the appearance of darkness and mistery. I acquainted them explicitly that a process in Chancery would be instituted against Hauser's Patent, and that I came not to request but to demand authenticated copies of the original memorial and all the subsequent papers respecting that grant, and I presumed if I was refused that it would be done with every mark of official formality. To my astonishment they both say'd, they were uncertain whether any memorial had been presented In many instances grants were made on personal and verbal applications, and it frequently happened when petitions were preferred that those petitions were considered as insignificant papers and were not preserved. I replied as decently as I could, That I only wanted facts relative to this particular grant. If no memorial had been presented, I wished to know in what way the patent was obtained. If by personal or verbal application —what were the peculiar pretentions of the man, and (in short) on what principles the land was granted him. I was told very politely—that enquiry should be made and satisfaction given me. Mr. Morris particularly assured me that so far as related to him, either in his private or official capacity, he would give me all the information which he could obtain on the subject.

Several days elapsed. I at length met Mr. Morris in a chearful company at his house. He with great freedom introduced the subject and told me that the original memorial was found, and that he would apply for Licence to furnish me with a copy and in confidence he showed me the memorial. I observed a Certificate from the Chief Justice setting forth the merit of the applicant, &c, and another Certificate from Mr. Morris protesting against the grant because 300 acres of interval was more than any individual was entitled to.

I told him at once that the appearance of any clandestine or secret management in a matter of this nature was extremely painful to me, that I wanted nothing but the most open communication, and that, with his permission, I would apply again for copies of all the papers. He very readily consented, and the day following I repeated my application at the Secretary's office and obtained the inclosed paper No. 1, which I considered as a very imperfect history of the business without the two Certificates, and as Mr. Morris had professed a desire to assist me, I thought it a matter of civility in turn to acquaint him that I had received a partial transcript without his Certificate, and that unless I could procure more complete state of facts, I should be under the necessity of transmitting the papers as they now stood, as I did not feel myself authorized to relate any part of the conversation which had passed between us, or to avail myself of any information which had been confidentially communicated. He considered

himself obliged, and decidedly affirmed that unless he obtained every necessary paper properly attested by the Secretary he would attest the copies himself.

I presume that I shall receive all the papers from some quarter or other tomorrow. Whether they are to the purpose or not, I shall not pretend to say, nor will I comment on such undignified conduct in the principal officers of a country. * * *

22nd April. The Surveyor-General has called in propria persona and acquaints me "That he is positively forbid to furnish any information on the subject of Frederick Hauser's Grant." But adds that I shall hear from him again. * * *

The venerable Foster Hutchinson* has just called to shew me a memorial to Gov'r Carleton which will be forwarded by this conveyance to Col. Putnam,† and it is one of my serious requests that you will see it and afford him all the assistance in your power.

Don't forget Ferdinand Redding.‡

I believe by this time you are pretty sure of my existence in this sublunary world. You are an unconscionable fellow if you want to see another line this month. From your

Ed. Winslow.

Certificate of Mr. Morris.

The Tract of the Township of Maugerville on the River Saint John was by the late Surveyor-General ordered to be divided into one hundred and one Farm Lots, extending one mile deep into the country, or thereabouts, and every grantee having one of these lots assigned him was understood to be entitled to have one thousand acres to be made up to him in an after division, and for half a lot five hundred acres; and the grants made since the general grant in 1765 have been in that proportion (except one or two Maugers‖ and the heirs of Sayer§).The General Grant was made at a time when there was a great crowd of business in the publick offices on

*Judge of the supreme court of Massachusetts, and brother of Governor Thomas Hutchinson, the last royal governor of Massachusetts. He died in Nova Scotia in 1799.

†Judge Putnam, ex-attorney general of Massachusetts, and an old friend and comrade of Chipman and Hutchinson.

‡A son of Mrs. Redding of Granville, mentioned in a former letter.

‖Joshua Mauger was the friend and patron of the Maugerville grantees. After these settlers had agreed on their location, and it had actually been surveyed, they were informed their lands had been reserved by order of the King in council for retired officers of the army and navy. Joshua Mauger had been a merchant in Nova Scotia, had returned to England and had been elected a member of parliament. He so effectually championed their cause that they were confirmed in possession of their grant, and as a token of gratitude they gave to their township the name of Maugerville.

§Rev. John Sayre, first rector of Maugerville.

account of the Stamp Act's taking place and the people pressing hard for their grants to save the stamp duties. In this hurry in making out the Grant they have called a Right* five hundred acres, when it was intended that every Right in that Township should be a thousand acres on account of the Grantees being the first adventurers, and also on account of there being a very great proportion of sunken lands and lakes within the limits of that Township.

Charles Morris,
Surveyor General.

21st April, 1785.

Andrew Kinnear to Edward Winslow.

Particulars collected at Cumberland and its neighbourhood relative to matters mentioned in an Extract of a letter from Brook Watson Esq to Edward Winslow Esq, dated the 6th August, 1784.

Lumber. The Rivers Cocaigne and Richibucto are allowed to be the best for white pine; there is a small quantity at Ramcheg. At Petitcoodiack there are great plenty of Elm, Ash, Rock-Maple, Spruce, Black birch, and a little white pine. At Chipotee the same. The whole country abounds with building Timber and any quantity may be had either ready framed, or squared into scantling.

Saw Mills. We have only four in the whole country, and they are but indifferent, scarce sufficient to serve the home consumption, but many might be erected if encouragement was given, particularly to the eastward and northward. Cocaigne is particularly well calculated for saw mills and the lumber trade might be carried on there to a great extent.

Fish. At Merimichee the Inhabitants expected, according to former experience, to take 4,000 tierces of salmon last year, half of which might be caught on Messrs Cort & Davison's lands. Many places in the Bay of Chaleurs are allowed to be very advantageous for salmon fishery. The most advantageous salmon fishery is supposed to be in the River Ristigouch, they are not so delicate but are as large again as those at Merimiche, some 40 lb. weight. The Rivers Rishebuctoo and Phillip are famed for salmon, but no Inhabitants are yet settled on those Rivers. In the River Merimiche there are immense quanties of Shad and Sturgeon, which the Inhabitants will not take the trouble to salt. There is good authority for saying that three men in a Shallop have taken in three months, say June, July and August, 500 Quintals of Cod-fish in the Bay of Chaleurs. After August they take their course to the northward of the Island Saint John, where they may be pursued to great advantage in large vessells. The fish called Gaspereau, are to be found in immense quantities here as well as to the East.

*A "Right" is equivalent to a lot or share of land.

Shipping. None here whatever.

Cattle. Neat Cattle may be spared from the County of Cumberland this year to the amount of six hundred head, and eight hundred for the year 1786. From a hundred and sixty to two hundred Horses can be also spared yearly, with oats to the amount of two or three thousand bushells for their use. For Ballast for vessels, there are Grind stones, and Coals in abundance to be found at the Joggins, within twelve miles of Ft. Cumberland.

The above information is all that could be collected in so short a time that with safety could be relied upon. As to the prices they are fluctuating and unsteady. Good beef by a single cow or ox is now sold for 3d. per pound; in large quantities it will of course be less. Tollerable good horses from £12 to £15, others from £8 to £12. The frame of a House 40 feet by 30, may be bought here for about £30 or £35; when numbers will be wanted it is expected they will be less. Lumber is dearer here than in any part of the two provinces but that is owing to scarcity of mills. As to the price of fish I cannot get any intelligence that can be depended on.

A. Kinnear.

Cumberland, 28th April, 1785.

Ladies at Sheet Harbor to Edward Winslow.

Sheet Harbour* 28th April, 1785.

Sir,—Pardon the liberty of this address, which not only your public capacity prompts us to, but also your esteemed, humane, & polite character in sympathizing with the distressed.

On learning the General was pleased to give certain gifts of donations to the women and children of the disbanded soldiers' wives and children in this settlement, ourselves and families excepted, the General was pleased to give for fifty women and children including our families we have sixty nine women and children here.

We have done ourselves the honor to inclose a memorial for the General, praying he would be pleased to indulge us & families with the same donations the women & children have got, and we cannot allow ourselves to doubt of your polite & humane interference in our behalf. We beg leave Sir, to say that tho' our husbands are reduced subalterns, yet we find it a small pittance to maintain our large families here tho' in the woods. Each of our husbands have before now experienced your goodness and we

*Sheet Harbor is on the south coast of Nova Scotia, about fifty miles east of Halifax. Here between one and two hundred Loyalists were settling. Col. Winslow's goodness of heart and well known willingness to oblige caused him to be beset with appeals to assist the unfortunate.

beg leave to add that we shall ever most gratefully retain a proper sense of this polite attention to those who have the honor to be Sir,

Your most obedient and very humble Servants,

Mary Sutherland,
Mary Sutherland,
Mary Olding,

Our husbands are Lieuteants Wm. Sutherland & N. P. Olding, late Royal Garrison Battalion; and Lieut. Alex'r Sutherland, late Colonel Goreham's Regim't.

N. B. Our three families consist of 8 women & 11 children. We never knew the other women had petitioned the General and left our families out, till they divided the donations.

Colonel Edward Winslow to His Wife.

Halifax, 29th April, 1785.

My dear Wife,—The long expected ship has now arrived and to give you some idea of my anxiety I enclose you a copy of a paragraph of the Secretary of State's letter to General Campbell, by which you will see what a narrow chance I have run of being irretrievably ruined. To save you from feeling too poignant distress I also inclose part of Mr. Thompson's letter to me; you will observe by that that my half pay is settled.

I am now my dearest Girl furnished with a fair pretence for quitting this unpleasant situation. I have this day announced my intention to the General. He bears it like a philosopher. I hope to be able to settle all my accounts in about a fortnight from this time and then—and then my dearest wife I shall fly to your arms never again (I hope) to separate. I flatter myself that with a little assistance I shall be able to quit Halifax without losing credit.

I think no time should be lost in sending across everything which we can spare. All the packages in the store may be sent by the very first conveyance, Ferdinand will have the goodness to assist. Pack up all your bottles, cyder and every other spare thing. Have you sent for the old Seine? the salt, &c, &c? You need not give yourself unnecessary trouble about fencing, gardening, &c. Everything that can be done with perfect convenience should, however, be performed because 'twill enhance the rent. If any body applies tell them that the House will be left by us before the first of June, and let them make their proposals. I do not know whether it may not be best for Ferdinand to advertize:—

"That elegant House now occupied by the Honourable E. W., one of "His Majesty's Council for the Province of New Brunswick, consisting of "four beautiful Rooms on the first Floor, highly finished. Also two spa-

"cious lodging chambers in the second story—a capacious dry cellar with "arches &c. &c. &c. The House is delightfully situated at Granville on "the Banks of the Annapolis River. In the summer you have every ad- "vantage from the Fogs and in the winter an enchanting view of the ice. "The Garden produces the most desirable vegetables and Fruit and there's "a prodigious fine Green-House, Goose-House, Pig-House and t'other "House. The Stables are in a stile peculiarly elegant, and there's a large "store newly erected.

"N. B. The chimnies never smoke and all the Cats will be sold with "the lease. For further particulars enquire of Macfarling Esq., Agent "and Attorney to Madam Winslow."

You must get a devilish deal of money surely for a lease of such a House.

The idea of soon seeing you has set me into a frolic. May Heaven grant that no untoward accident happens to detain me.

I have bought a suit of Baby linen for little Ned—a most extravagantly fine collection. I have also got you another loose muslin Gown made in a new stile.

29th April, Friday. You little lazy, ill temper'd jade, how dare you let the express-man set off without a line. I wish I had hold of your ear, I'd give you a pinch that would make you squeak again. Thank Ferdinand for his letters. If Mr. Macfarling will not take what you offer him, let him seek his recompence. I'll not give him a farthing more. I am vastly glad that you are satisfied with Magee and his wife. I hope they will continue to please you.

On serious consideration I think it will be best for me to hire horses at this place. The trouble and expense of sending Jack will be nearly equal to the hire.

I shall not send molasses, flour or anything else to Annapolis but will send everything to St. John's. Your little things will be put in my portmanteau. I have nothing more to say only that I am your faithful

Edward.

My mother's family will sail in about a fortnight. Let every part of the old Marquie be collected, repaired and put in the best order possible. Don't fail of this as I shall certainly want it.

Edward Winslow to Ward Chipman.

Halifax, Sunday, 8th May, 1785.

My dear Chip,—I have only time to acknowledge the receipt of yours with the inclosures for England and to congratulate you that they arrived just in time for the St. Lawrence. The Governor's dispatches I have

this instant delivered with the General's to Capt. Hartcup of the Engineers, all the others which came to my care I have delivered to Wyat: acquaint the Governor of this circumstance.

Now my dear fellow—; This is Sunday, Tuesday next I set off for Annapolis, where I hope to meet a letter from you informing me what success you have had in your effort to obtain a house for my mother; by that event my motions will be regulated. If you have not been able to obtain one, I must remain a little while longer at Granville; if you have I dash instantly, wife, children and everything else for [New] Brunswick. I have manoeuvred for a passage for them without expense in a fine large ship belonging to Cochran. They take with them everything of their property and a years provisions, and for effecting all this I deserve the highest rank among clever fellows. Now if you, Hazen, Coffin, Marston, Hailes, &c, &c, will procure a good comfortable Box for 'em and arrange matters so that the first impression will be pleasing you shall be placed in the second rank of clever fellows and remain there to all eternity. I acknowledge it would distress me immensely to remain any time at Granville, but I have no alternative unless they can be accomodated with a house* by themselves.

By the ship which takes them I shall send every package which belongs to you. I hope the contents of some of 'em have not been contaminated in this infernal place. I intend if possible to coax Gregory† to cross the Bay of Fundy when he comes to Annapolis. Don't fail writing me immediately on receipt of this.

I hope Hazen has repaired or is repairing our habitation. No man was ever more agitated, befluttered, and bedevil'd than,

Your Ned.

Sunday 15th May; Annapolis-Royal.

Here I am dear Chip—distressed that this letter has not reached you. I will remain here until I hear from you, which for Heaven's sake don't delay a moment. Dight‡ (who is a man to whom I am obliged, and entitled to your civilities of course)—with his friend Lawson, will tell you how anxious I am, and relate every circumstance respecting me. To them I refer you. Consider my impatience and relieve your affectionate

Ed. Winslow.

*The mother and sisters of Col. Winslow on their arrival at St. John were about to take possession of a house belonging to Col. Wm. Tyng, at a rental of £40 per annum; but the house being out of repair and unsuitable for their accomodation, Ward Chipman agreed to exchange houses, the one in which he was living at Portland Point being more convenient and comfortable.

†Gregory Townsend.

‡The reference is to John Butler Dight, merchant of Halifax, at this time acting as agent for supplying provisions, &c., to the Loyalists.

Lieut. Col. James Chalmers to Edward Winslow.

New Castle on Delaware, 15th May, 1785

Dear Sir,—Soon after I had the pleasure of seeing you I embarked for Maryland, and having had a passage of 39 days I could not before Spring arrange my affairs. I now proceed to England with vouchers of the sale of my Estate, which for this country may be termed a noble one.

As I have had it much at heart to settle in your province. I am very anxious to endeavour that the lands destined to the Maryland Corps* may be placed on such footing that an impartial division may be made to all those interested. May I be permitted to suggest that your humane and generous attention to me when I had the pleasure of seeing you at Halifax, encourages me to solicit a state of this matter to enable me to lay it before the minister, which I am determined to do with firmness. My address is No. 7, Fountain Court, Strand.

I hope to have the pleasure of paying my respects to you next October, mean time I beg leave to add that I have the honor to be with most perfect respect, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Js. Chalmers.†

Jacob Troop's Receipt for Rent.

Granville, 23rd May, 1785.

Received of Edward Winslow, Esq., ten shillings currency, which with five pounds ten shillings received of Mrs. Winslow the 1st Sept'r, 1784, is in full for one years rent of a House in Granville with an acre of ground adjoining, late the property of Jeremiah Webbe deceased, commencing the 21st of April 1783, and ending the 21st of April, 1784.

Jacob Troop.‡

Sir John Wentworth to Ward Chipman.

Quebec, 5th June, 1785.

Dear Sir,—You will hardly expect to have a letter from me dated at this place, but it so happened that sailing from Halifax 23rd April in the Hermione Frigate, intending to land at Cape Breton, we found ourselves

*The Maryland Loyalists, under Capt. Patrick Kennedy, settled, as already stated in these notes, in the parish of St. Marys, opposite Fredericton.

†The commission of Lieut. Col. James Chalmers in the Maryland Loyalists bears date October 14, 1777. He was a man of good position in Maryland. The corps was raised through his efforts.

‡Jacob Troop was a prominent man in the early history of Annapolis County and some information concerning him will be found in Calnek and Savary's History of Annapolis. The dates in the receipt above seem to show that the house at Granville was rented April, 21, 1783, but Edward Winslow could not have arrived at Annapolis till a little later as he was in New York as late as the 18th April on or about which date he sailed for Nova Scotia.

there embarrassed with ice, & the country covered with snow. * * * We came on to this place to refit & repair. Tomorrow we sail for Spanish River, from thence to Miramichi, Tatamagouche, &c, & not impossibly by one of those Rivers into St. Johns.

In the mean time permit me very earnestly to intreat your good offices for a worthy and distressed Family in this place in procuring justice for them. Archibald McNeil, late of Boston, was too much respected to be unknown to you, his remaining family have equal merit. He relinquished a valuable property in N. England and loyally continued attached to Government. His property shared the same fate as others in similar circumstances, but he had some consolation in possessing Lot No. 3 or No. 59 in Gage Town on St John's river, originally granted to John Fenton. Mr. McNeil represented his case to Gov'r Parr, who promised to confirm his title & that it should not be escheated. Mr. McNeil goes to Quebec, and returning to occupy his land & prepare it for the reception of his family he unfortunately lost his life, as you may have heard.* The widow and children have now their greatest dependence on this property, and I hope thro your kind aid it will be recovered and established to them. My friend Col. Winslow is well acquainted with the circumstances, and I am sure, if he is with you, will readily exert his influence and abilities in a cause of the most signal humanity and incontestible justice, as this most surely is. I am sure that Judge Ludlow must be the friend of our solicitation and that Gov'r Carleton will protect it. I freely confess to you, my dear Sir, that I am exceedingly interested for the success of this matter, and will rejoice thankfully to acknowledge every exertion made

*Archibald McNeil of Boston went to Halifax with the Royal army on the evacuation of that place in 1776. He was proscribed and banished. He went to Boston on business in 1784 and was committed to jail, but finally allowed to rejoin his family at Quebec. In the month of August in the same year as he was journeying from Quebec to Halifax he was murdered by an Indian when asleep in the woods. In November this Indian was tried and convicted in the court of King's Bench at Quebec. The place where the offence was committed is described in the indictment as "near unto the village of Madawaska, in the district of Quebec, in the province of Quebec." In the Quebec Gazette of the 11th of November, 1784, there is an account of the execution of this Indian, and the case is remarkable for the commutation of the mode of execution ordered by the governor, with the advice of the council. This will appear in the following extract from the minutes of the council: There were present at the meeting of the council His Excellency Frederick Haldimand, governor; the Hon. Henry Hamilton, lieutenant governor, and ten members of council.

"His excellency the governor laid before the council a sentence pronounced "this day (Nov. 3, 1784), against an Indian named Charles Nichau Noiste, "condemning him to be hanged by the neck until he be dead, and stated that "application had been made to his excellency by the friends and relations of "the culprit, the Indians of his nation, and the Indians of other nations, to "change the punishment pronounced by the law, into that of shooting, which "is more consonant to the ideas of savages. The council having weighed the "matter and the consequences that might ensue, were of opinion unanimously "that the punishment should be changed, and that the said Charles Nichau "Noiste should be shot in place of hanged."

in their favour. As there will be Expresses returning to this place, I shall be much obliged if you will write a line to Mrs. McNeil with your advice & opinion on their case, & with such directions as you may think prudent for them to pursue. If it is conveyed under cover to Lieut. Gov'r Hamilton in Gov'r C.'s envelope, it will be safely expedited. Excuse this application but in such a case I feel myself assured that you will participate in the motives that occasion it, and most obligingly aid therein to the grateful sensibilities of

My dear Sir,

Your very faithful
humble serv't,
J. Wentworth.

P. S. May I request you would be so good as to present my regards to Col. Winslow, if he should be with you, also to Mr. Marston, Ludlows, Willard, Sproule, Mr. Hazen & family, &c.

Thomas Williams to Edward Winslow.

Annapolis, 6th June, 1785.

Dear Sir,—Your favour of the 2nd gave us great pleasure to hear that you had so fine a passage and I sincerely hope your situation at St. John's will prove in every respect agreeable. You must undoubtedly be anxious for the arrival of the ship, but you need be under no apprehension for her safety as she had not left Halifax this day week. It will not be in my power to send you the Pork till her arrival, our store being quite exhausted. * * *

Mrs. Williams and Tom desire to join me in their best compliments, and I am with sincere Regard, dear Sir,

Your very obedient, humble servant,
Thos. Williams.*

Circular Letter to Heads of Departments.

Fort Howe, June 10, 1785.

Sir,—I am directed to acquaint you that by order of Major General Campbell a Board of Accounts, of which Capt. Balfour† is President, is instituted at this place for the purpose of examining the Publick Accounts of the Army in the District of New Brunswick, you will therefore as soon

*See biographical note under date October 24th, 1783, in this book.

†Captain Wm. Balfour commanded the garrison at this time. He afterwards rose to the rank of major-general. He was administrator of goverment in the province for a short time in 1811. He died suddenly at Fredericton on the 2nd December, in that year, aged 52 years.

as the accounts of your department can be prepared give notice thereof to Capt. Balfour in order that the Board may be assembled to examine the same.

Ensign Lambton, Asst. Engr., Fort Howe; Fred Wm. Hecht, Esq'r, Asst. Commissary, Fort Howe; Wm. Garden, Esq, Asst. Commissary, St. Anne's Point; Lt. Dugald Campbell, Asst. Engineer, St. Anne's Point; Gelham Taylor, Esq'r, Asst. Commissary, St. Andrews.

Instructions to Edward Winslow Esq. appointed to muster Loyalists and Disbanded Troops, issued by Major General John Campbell, Commanding all the Forces in His Majesty's Dominions in North America, lying on the Atlantic Ocean, &c. &c. &c.

You are hereby authorised to muster all the Loyalists and Disbanded Troops settling in the Province of New Brunswick, and you will be pleased to communicate your orders and instructions to His Excellency Governor Carleton, and consult with him respecting the most effectual method of performing the service on which you are employed. Previous to a muster of any Corps or Class you will give due and public notice of the time when, and the place where, you intend to take the muster, and you will direct that fair Rolls be prepared of each Corps or Class, specifying the names, sex, age and description of every individual contained therein, and the said Rolls are to be certified by two, at least, of the officers or Principal men of the Corps or Class thus mustered.

When the muster of any Corps or Class is completed you will forward a Report thereof to the nearest Commissary and certify that the Men, Women and Children named therein, are actually present and are by the King's Instructions entitled to their proportion of the Royal Bounty of Provisions, which Report, with your signature, will be his Voucher for issuing the same.

A copy of my instructions to the Board appointed to examine the claims of Persons applying for Provisions at Halifax will be herewith presented you. You will endeavor to comply with the spirit and intention of those Instructions as nearly as circumstances will admit, and whenever you find any Person or Persons who are not within the description of Persons pointed out in those Instructions, you will exclude them from your Returns. And if in the course of your enquiry any abuses are discovered you will endeavor, with the assistance of His Excellency the Governor, and the Commissary, to have them corrected and to report the names of any Persons who may have been guilty of imposition.

You will as soon as possible transmit to Head Quarters a General Return of your doings, with particular returns of all Persons mustered

within your District, as well as to His Excellency Governor Carleton. Given under my Hand at Head Quarters, Halifax, the 17th day of June, 1785.

John Campbell, M. Gen'l.

H. M. Gordon to Edward Winslow.

Halifax, 20th June, 1785.

My dear Winslow,—Shaw's* report of the abuses that have been committed in the issue of the Bounty of Government at Chedabuctou† has induced the General to direct a muster of the different Settlements in both Provinces. The mode pursued last year is to be adopted this. Mr. Shaw is to go to Shelburne, O'Brien to Windsor, Kenticoot, &c. &c., and I have wrote to John Robinson to request he may take his former District. The General relying on your readiness has directed me to request you may have the goodness to name some person as you shall think proper to be employed on this service in New Brunswick, who may be approved by the Governor. He will receive the same Pay as last year, and the Garrison Boat ordered to attend him. A blank instruction is enclosed you and printed copies of the usual advertisements. What stationery may be wanting will be allowed.

I do not know what saving this Muster may make in your Province, but I am convinced in this, the expense will be amply justified.

I am, most sincerely, Dear Winslow,

Your friend and humble servant,

H. M. Gordon‡

William Garden to Edward Winslow.

Fredericton, 28th June, 1785.

Dear Sir,—By the receipt of your official letter of the 11th inst., I was made happy by hearing of your arrival at St. John, and I have since heard that your family are also arrived, and that you mean to stay with us, a circumstance which affords myself and your friends at St. Anns very great satisfaction, and we are not without hope that it may suit your views to take up your residence at this place.

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*William Shaw, provost marshal to the forces in Nova Scotia.

†In the County of Guysborough, where many of the Carolina Loyalists had already abandoned their farms, but their rations continued to be drawn by their comrades.

‡Hugh Mackay Gordon was still by rank a lieutenant, but filled the position of brigade major to Gen. Campbell. In the year 1815 he had attained the rank of a major general in the British army. He was a particularly warm friend of Edward Winslow, and on the visit of the latter to England in 1805 rendered him essential service.

You have greatly served us already, and I doubt not are disposed to make us more obliged to you, and believe me the Country never wanted your help more than it does at present. All our promising views and hopes will be blasted, and the settlement must fail if flour or bread is not immediately sent up, let it come from where it may. Major Murray will inform you of the situation of the unfortunate people, and I flatter myself your goodness of Heart will induce you to become their Advocate for relief. If I can in any manner be useful to you here have the goodness to command me.

I am dear Sir, Your most Obed't & much obliged serv't

Wm. Garden.

Captain R. F. Brownrigg* to Edward Winslow.

Miramichi, 29th June, 1785.

Sir,—I make bold to write to you, as I have not the honor of being known to His Excellency, to request that you will be so good as to have me included in the Grant of Lands on this River. I arrived here the 12th instant and have opened a Store for the present at a Mr. Mark Delesdernier's where I must remain until I get an House of my own. He informs me that Mr. Micheaux a Surveyor has been here and laid out the Land in 200 acre lots, whereby there are two Lots become vacant between Mr. Frederick Delesdernier and William Drisdell. About the centre of these two Lots are the Logs of an Hutt which I am getting covered for a Store, opposite to which I have put down a salmon Nett to try what success I shall have as a fisherman.

As one of these Lots is without water and neither of them Fishing Places, I hope with your assistance to have a Grant of both by which I shall be enabled to make a tolerable Farm there in time.

A melancholy accident happened here last Monday afternoon : an old man, named John Fitzgerald went out to set a Nett and was drowned. He fell out of a canoe. He was found yesterday.

I should think it very necessary to have a Coroner here as several people have been drowned and no one to enquire how. If there is not any one here or coming here that His Excellency would choose to appoint, I, for the benefit of the Public, offer my services, though as I am a Justice of

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*R. F. Brownrigg was a captain in 1780, in Major William Odell's Loyal American Rangers, and was transferred afterwards to the Duke of Cumberland's Regiment. He went in 1783, with the latter corps, to Chedabucto, where he was appointed a magistrate, and assisted in the settlement of his men.

the Peace for the County of Halifax I know not but I may be derogating from that appointment. * * *

Your most obedient

Very humble Servant,

R. F. Brownrigg.

P. S. I shall not sign myself Captain now I am turned Merchant, but I beg leave to remind you that Captain White and myself served in the same Regiment.

Benjamin Marston to Edward Winslow.

Mirimachie Point, July 17, 1785.

I arrived here only three days ago and it has taken me till now to get myself stowed into a place where I can do business.

The condition of this River respecting the numbers of Inhabitants has been greatly mis-represented—to me at least. There are not above 100 families, if so many, upon it at present. They live in a sparse manner scattered along it's banks. My appointments here will be a mere sound and not much more. The emoluments of them will never make it worth my while to remain here after I have done those particular kinds of service which I came hither to execute. These I shall finish at all events.

This makes it more necessary for me to get into some other line of business for a lively-hood and not depend any more upon Government for employment. In consequence therefore of the project, which we have often talked over together, of going into the Commission business I now propose to you the putting our scheme into execution, and would have you write to Lane & Co. immediately (as I think it was from them that you told me that you had the offer of Goods to be sent out on Commission) with an invoice for £4,000 or £5,000 ster; if you think that will not be too much. You must satisfy them respecting me, as I am a stranger to them. * * * Goods may be vended at Westmorland and in the parts of Nova Scotia in its vicinity, provided beef, hay, plaster, grain, &c., could be received in pay. I should think that articles so necessary might be converted into some medium of remittance.

This place at present is scarce an object for a fixed Factorage, but a quantity of Furs might be picked up every Spring by coming hither with a properly assorted cargo and Salmon might be engaged, of all which I shall get myself better informed. * * *

The Salmon Fishery on this River is an object worth the attention of Government, but unless it is attended to it will be ruined by the ignorance and avarice of those concerned in it. It has failed very much this season, no doubt thro' the impolitic methods used to catch the Fish—which is chiefly by set nets, which are so extended from each side as to

leave the fish very little room to run, and at Davidson's are extended quite across the River, to the utter exclusion of the poor savages above.

I have not been here long eno' to make many observations, but this is certainly a very fine country, covered with white clover wherever it is open to the influence of Heaven, generally level, easily traversed. To say it was equal to St. John's might be looked upon as a species of blasphemy but this I dare pronounce that Miramichie Point, & Beaubere's Island are superior in situation to Fredericton. A ship of 250 tons from Italy is now lying just by them.

Remember me kindly to all my friends both male & female — more especially and most kindly to those of your and your Mother's family. For God's sake write to me whenever you can, 'twill be a supreme consolation to me in this my retreat to know that you sometimes think of

Ben. Marston.

Edward Winslow to H. M. Gordon.

St. John's 18th July, 1785.

Dear Gordon,—Neither St. Paul nor any other old fashioned Buck ever experienced half so great a variety of difficulties & embarrassments in one month as I have in the last.

The transportation of a lusty wife, three little Brats & a large collection of lumber across the Bay of Fundy was no inconsiderable job. That over I was saluted with a very severe fit of the Gout. I found here no preparation for my reception & I was obliged to tumble Mrs. Winslow and the little ones into the crowd that filled the House at Portland-point, & before I could say "Jack Robinson" the ship Parr made her appearance and disembarked my mother and sisters who of course made a considerable addition to the party.

In this dilemma I hunted Wanton out of Tyng's house and placed my mother's family there. I collected all the Carpenters, Masons and Laborers that could be found & I have ever since been up to the eyes in mud, mortar, &c. I am now emerging from this state & in a few days I expect to see both families comfortable. Before I proceed further let me say in one short sentence & for the last time, that I feel the most cordial gratitude for every mark of attention which you & my other friends shewed to my unfortunate old mother and sisters while they resided at Halifax.

Immediately after my arrival I commenced my operations to form a Board of Accounts agreeable to the General's order. The Governor consented to the nomination of two respectable merchants, Messrs. Donaldson & Garden. Tomorrow they sit to examine Mr. Lambton's accounts. I shall do the duty of Secretary to the Board myself, as the appointment of

another person would necessarily be attended with some expence. By the inclosed letters you will see that Mr. Commissary Hecht has declined submitting his accounts.

I thought best on my first setting out to give official notice to every officer of public department in the District of the institution of the Board. As Mr. Hechts accounts were of the most importance I proposed that they should be first examined. * * I know not from what quarter Mr. Hecht may have received his advice, but it appears to me that his conduct is very reprehensible. I beg you will have the goodness to assure the General that I shall carefully avoid any further altercations with him & that wherever his accounts are presented I shall endeavor to examine them with candour & impartiality. In the mean time we shall go on with the other accounts & as I transmit 'em I will report my private opinion of such of the charges as appear irregular or wrong.

Mr. Campbell & Mr. Garden are expected every hour and I shall postpone my intended excursion up the river until their accounts are settled. I have also wrote to Mr. Tailer, the Commissary at Passamaquoddy, to attend here. I have been induced to take this step because the provision which has been issued by him is generally in consequence of Mr. Hecht's muster or orders from the Commandant here, & of course his accounts may be checked by their information.

I regret Hecht's obstinacy, because there are a considerable number of people to whom he is at this time indebted who are really distressed & who cannot possibly go to Halifax for their money. I will not presume to advise relative to the mode of paying the sums due at this place, but have only to say that whatever method is adopted, I shall hold myself obliged without fee or reward to afford every assistance in my power, & that I shall as cheerfully obey General Campbell's orders after I cease to be his Secretary as I did before.

Whenever the public business will admit I shall beat my march to St. Anns, where I intend to provide some kind of a habitation for my family. The enormous rents and other expenses here render it impossible for me to halt long.

My Gout has been particularly attached to my right hand & has almost disabled my thumb. I have not been able to write a line till today & now dare not indulge too far.

&c, &c, &c,

Ed. Winslow.

Brook Watson to Edward Winslow.

London, 26th August, 1785.

Dear Sir,—The Gen'l description of the Province of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, which you obligingly sent me under date of April the

25th, is by far the most regular and perfect thing of the kind I ever saw,* it's just the information I wanted and arranged better than any ideas of mine could possibly suggest, and carries more convincing proof in its face than fifty speeches made in the House of Commons from the most respectable information. You have hereby put a Weapon, offensive and defensive, into my hands, which may eventually intitle me to the honorable appelation of "Champion for the remaining Provinces."

Mr. Lambton has also obliged me with some observations made during his march† to Passamaquoddy; by all which I clearly perceive the West India Isles will soon be amply supplied with all kinds of lumber — white oak staves excepted, and therein is indeed a great want. How it may be supplied I can't conceive, for I much fear the Pine staves expected to supply their want will be found insufficient for the purpose; should it prove otherwise, I beg to be furnished with authenticated proofs of it.

There is no reason to apprehend a free trade being allowed between the British Islands in the West Indies and the American States; the eyes of this Country have, thank God, been opened to see the destructive tendency of such a measure, nor will the duty on Foreign Oil be taken off or reduced. As it now stands it is an effectual Bounty to our own fisheries and is severely felt by the American States. They complain, and I am glad they have cause for so doing. Their scheme of placing Nantucket‡ under our Government is too flimsy an artifice to take; the Quakers must move to one of the King's provinces if they mean to enjoy the blessings of his Government and the benefits of our Commerce.

The Province of Nova Scotia have at last forbid the Americans to enter their Ports. Had this wise step been taken earlier she would not have been drained of her money as has been the case. The States complain of being treated as aliens, forgetting they made themselves such. If our Government [in England] act wisely, a Governor General will soon be sent to the remaining Provinces, who will work them to their own happiness and the good of the Empire. Their neighbors, like vinegar fretting on their lees, will soon curse the day which made them independent.

Farewell dear Sir,

Your faithful humble serv't

Brook Watson.

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*A sufficient number of papers and documents are to be found on file to show that Edward Winslow took very great pains in this matter, and called into requisition the services of many persons in various places, in order to prepare with greater exactness his description of the provinces for Brook Watson.

†See note under Marston's letter to Winslow of "Friday, Feby. 18, to Monday, the 21st," 1785.

‡See references in Canadian Archives for 1894 at pp. 434 and 441.

Thomas Aston Coffin to Ward Chipman.

London, 27th Aug, 1785.

My dear Chip,—* * * I hope our friend Ned [Winslow] and family are comfortably settled. I wish he was rid of that old debt. How are Polly and the children? How comes on Sally* with Dan?** * * *

It not being convenient to Mrs. Geyer to have Murray home all the Holidays, as her family is so large of itself, he remained a fortnight at school, which is charged at half a guinea pr. week. Ned I hope will not think that there was any inattention to the boy, but he really is so rioutous and her own boys and girls so numerous, that she could do no otherways, He is a fine spirited boy and will I dare say do well, but he must be looked after and kept within bounds. His mother's indulgences, and which Ned did not dislike, would if he had not been removed as he was have made it a very difficult business to manage him. * * *

I wish I knew whether you were married or had any thoughts of it. Eben says that at Boston it is verily believed. Why the D—l don't you tell me either that you are or are not ? God bless you forever in whatever state you may be,

Yours most truly,

T. A. Coffin.

Sir Benjamin's friend Lord Sackville is dead.

T. Moody† to Edward Winslow.

Halifax, 26th Septr., 1785.

Dear Sir,—I am just returned from Merrimichee and in time to have the happiness of sincerely congratulating you on your appointment of Paymaster of Contingencies for N. Brunswick. This, Dear Sir, is as unexpected as it is pleasing, as it in some measure ensures a continuance of the office, which we did not expect. Have received a letter from our mutual friend T. A. Coffin Esq'r, full of the kindest and most friendly sentiments towards you and the Family, in particular Miss Sally, in short it is like himself. He does not know of any alteration or any arrangements making in any of the present offices in this Quarter. Tells me I may rely on your friendly offices whenever solicited. This, by the bye, I have experienced & ever shall acknowledge. My friend Ward informs me he sent your Gun, which has been at length repaired, and my letter from this per a Capt. Bell; hope they have long ere this reached you. Wrote you when at Merrimichee, and solicited thro' you a Grant of an Island called Bedde Wyn‡; if it can be effected consistently shall be glad,

*See under date 11th April, 1785, for explanation.

†T. Moody seems to have been employed as a clerk in the military offices at Halifax.

‡Bay du Vin, or Baie des Vents, at the mouth of the Miramichi River.

however I submit the business entirely to your goodness, at all events I am determined to do some business in that Quarter as my Brother means to abide there and has begun to build. Capt. Marston has been very kind to me, and will thro' you add his friendship and good offices to anything you may recommend. Inclosed is a letter from him.

This day I put on board the Maria £3,000 sterling which is sent you to defray the Contingent expences in your Province. It will be handed you as will this my letter by Major Gordon. Have not had time to learn anything in particular to inform you of. Should there have any matter turned up worthy of your notice, no doubt Mr. Brittain will make you acquainted therewith. The Brig is ordered to sail immediately and I have only to make you a tender of my best services here and to beg you will believe me to be, Dear Sir,

With Gratitude and Respect, Your ever obed't Servant,

T. Moody.

Gregory Townsend to Edward Winslow.

Halifax, 26 Sept., 1785.

Dear Winslow,—I want much to hear your plan of operations, how you succeed in your Settlement, where your place of abode is to be, how much you are like to realize pr. an. exclusive of the product of your Industry, how your good partner and all her children are. I wish you joy of the addition, may you experience the maxim of old Mr. Apthorp that every child made him £1,000 stg. richer. You and Polly will be able to buy all New Brunswick by the year 1900. I hear Miss Murray is married to Mr. Wanton, wish them joy for me. I wish Dan'l could find some very rich woman young or old that wanted nothing but a Husband.

Gordon sails the first wind in the Maria. Capt. Sutherland your Chief Engineer goes with him. He will be an agreeable addition to your excellent circle of friends. My respects to all your Family at both houses; to my Friend Sproule and his. I am this day taking leave of my house, £150. pr. an. is much too high for me, and as I see no likelihood of T. A. C's* coming out to share it, I unwillingly gave it up and have bought the shell that Friars lived in at £300 where I intend to make myself as contented as possible tho' not situated quite to my mind. But I shall be more so when you break your resolution of not seeing Halifax again and take a seat at the table. Apropos, I don't go to Cape Breton this season. The story of the Government in Don Quixote is not half so ridiculous as Gordon's story of Sydney, and what makes it worse, his is (I believe) true, the other fiction. I must make haste and begin to move.

Yours truly,

G. Townsend.

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*Thomas Aston Coffin.

Lt. Col. Allen to Edward Winslow.

September, 28th, 1785.

My dear Sir,—We are told here that Col. Robinson declines accepting the Clerkship of this County.* If the information should be true I shall thank you if you will recommend our Friend Ned† [Stelle] for that office You know his abilities and honor, and I should think as he is settled in the County, he deserves a preference. I know your friendship for him and assure you you cannot gratify him more than by giving him your Interest in procuring the Clerkship of this County. Young Clopper will willingly accept the Coroner's office which has been rejected by Capt. De-Peyster. I think he will execute the office extremely well and I have promised him to write you on the subject and request you would mention him to the Governor. As it is an office of more plague than profit I think we shall be obliged to him for accepting it. I am sorry I did not see you before you left St. Anns, which I should have done if my Friend Thompson had not disappointed me. Pray present my compliments to Mrs. Winslow, Chip and Hailes.

I am, Yours sincerely,

Isaac Allen.

William Garden to Edward Winslow.

Frederickton, 28th Sept'r, 1785.

Dear Sir,—I am favor'd with your Letter of the 22nd inst by which I find it is the pleasure of His Excellency that the people of Maugerville & Burton shall in future be victualled here, but previous thereto it will be necessary to have a certificate of the time they have been victualled below, which I am happy you mean to procure. Mr. Hayt‡ will send you the papers you wanted, and he has sent the Box of Papers. I have received from Mr. Hayt the muster Lists of the people of Maugerville, but those of Burton I have not seen.

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*Clerk of the peace for the County of York. Lt.-Col. Robinson, in point of fact, did accept the office. The old York sessions of the peace minute book contains this note as its first entry:—

"Beverly Robinson, Jr., Esq., clerk of the said court of general sessions of the "peace, gives this court to understand and be informed that on the 30th day of last "October, 1788, the house wherein he lived in the parish of Fredericton, and in which "were deposited all the records and papers belonging to the said court, was con-"sumed by fire, and all the said records and papers were then and there lost and de-"stroyed." The Magistrates present when the above announcement was made were Edward Winslow, Daniel Murray, George Dunbar, David McGibbon and Garrett Clopper.

†Edward Stelle was commissioned captain-lieutenant (or senior subaltern officer) of the 6th Battalion New Jersey Volunteers, June 24, 1777. He was adjutant of the corps and saw much service. He held a captain's commission at the close of the war. He was a representative of York County in the first house of assembly. He left the province about 1790, and his place in the assembly was filled by Judge Saunders.

‡Monson Hayt. See biographical note under date January, 12th, 1785.

Ever since I was appointed to the office of Commissary of this district I have labored without intermission to serve the people in it and I shall not yet leave off. The people of Maugerville & Burton who have never been victualled here come to me individually, without either certificate or recommendation from the heads of their Class or any one that I know, and are very much affronted that I do not know every one of them personally and their pretensions, but this I cannot help. When any distress is made known to me authentically I take upon me to give relief.

I sincerely congratulate you on the appointment of Paymaster of Contingencies, and am happy to hear money is coming to you. It is really much wanted and I hope you will bring some up with you. I am very glad to find you still mean to join us at this place.* It is a circumstance that affords great satisfaction to all your friends, and we did not want the addition of the [money] Chest to make it so, 'tho' you need not leave it behind. I really wish you here very soon and I hope you will bring a confirmation of Mr. Watson's news—at all events the people should know soon what they are to expect.

I am happy to inform you that your mill† is about finished and doing great execution. Major Murray is so pleased with her that I do not believe he would leave her and come to St. John's to be made Lieut. Governor. It would appear she has given him a good stomach for by a letter I have received this day he says he will want about thirty six Barrels of Pork, Beef, flour and Indian meal for his winter's store, and as he seems to deserve it I have promised to get it for him.

I am dear Sir very sincerely

Your friend & much obliged Hum'le Servt,

Wm. Garden, Asst. Commissary.

The Hon'ble Edward Winslow Esq'r.
St Johns.

Expenses of Engineer's Department at St. Anns Point.

St. Anns Point, New Brunswick, 25 Oct'r, 1785.

His Majesty's Works in the Engineer Department, Dr.

To His Majesty's 54th Regt. of foot for working parties supply'd for the several Works carrying on in the district of St. Johns River, New

*The removal of Edward Winslow's family to Fredericton seems to have taken place early in October. They fixed their residence at "Kingswood" a short distance above Fredericton. The name Kingswood was evidently derived from Winslow's office as Deputy Surveyor of the King's Woods under Sir John Wentworth.

†This mill was at the mouth of the Pokiok. Major Murray seems to have been the proprietor a little later, and it proved to him an unfortunate investment; it was burned in 1798.

Brunswick, under the direction of Lieutenant James Glenie,* Engineer, commencing the 25th Aug't and ending the 24th Oct'r, 1785, inclusive, amounting in the whole to the sum of One Pound fourteen shillings, Halifax Currency.

Examined & certifyed by Jas. Glenie, Eng'r.

Received 25th Oct'r, 1785, from Edward Winslow, Esq'r, D'y Pay Master of Contingencies & extraordinaries, the sum of One Pound fourteen shillings, Halifax Currency, in full of the within account, having signed two Receipts of this tenor and date.

Rich'd Armstrong, Q'r, M'r 54th Regt.

£1.14 currency equal £1, 11, 9 stg., Dollars at 4s. 8d.

[Endorsed, "Examined and recommended for payment A. Bruce."]

William Garden to Edward Winslow.

Frederickton, 27th Oct'r, 1785.

Dear Sir,—Yesterday afternoon I wrote you a few lines and enclosed an Abstract of your Muster Lists, which Maxwell† told me you wished to

*James Glenie was quite a remarkable character. He was evidently well versed in his profession as an engineer. He advocated the construction of a ship canal at Chignecto a few years later. There is in the journals of the house of assembly for 1791 the report of a committee, of which he was a member, appointed to examine a plan "for fitting up a part of the church at Fredericton for the accommodation of the courts of justice and house of assembly." Glenie was the moving spirit in formulating the committee's report, which was adverse to the plan, on the ground that the church would not afford sufficient accommodation for the council and assembly, and, moreover, the expense of remodelling would be sufficient to erect a compact building with more convenient accommodations. James Glenie was elected a member for Sunbury County in 1789, in place of Capt. Richard Vanderburgh, who had disposed of his property the previous year and returned to the States. Glenie was in politics a radical, and proved a thorn in the flesh to Governor Carleton and his council. In letters written to Andrew Finucane in 1789-1790 (see Canadian Archives for 1895, pp. 18, 19), he asserts that "unless Governor Carleton be removed and Ludlow and Allen dismissed the province will soon be ruined." He uses the most extraordinary epithets in speaking of Governor Carleton and his officials—e. g., "Ludlow the ignorant, strutting chief justice," "Tommy Carleton," "Young Beverly Robinson, a man on whom nature has fixed the stamp of stupidity." "Billopp, an ignorant, uncouth Dutch Boer," &c. The governor and council had as little love for Glenie as he for them. Governor Carleton termed him a "Son of Belial." John Coffin fought a duel with him, in which Glenie was wounded. Glenie once described Samuel Denny Street as "The little Creeper Cock," a name which stuck to him. Despite his eccentricities, Glenie was a clever man, and made no little stir in his day and generation. His abilities won the admiration of the Duke of Kent.

†Andrew Maxwell of Maryland was commissioned the captain in the Prince of Wales American Regiment in 1777. He commanded the Grenadier company. The story related of him in Sabine's American Loyalists is evidently unfounded, since the muster rolls of his corps show no record of his having been taken prisoner. These rolls are, at present, in the hands of the writer of these notes. Captain Maxwell wrote a beautiful hand. His "Return of the people settled in the district between the Nashwaak and the Madam Keyswick," of July 29, 1785, on file among the Winslow papers, is sufficient proof on this head.

have sent after you, tho' I believe if they send Provisions agreeable to it at two thirds allowance there will be sufficient. Yet as it's right to be sure, I have in the estimate sent to Halifax & Fort Howe, asked for 2,800 Rations for Loyalists (and you may get as many more as you can) alleging, what is true, that since your muster was taken people from different quarters have come into this district, which are not included in it, and who bring claims on the store prior to it. I wish to God the Governor may consent to the completion of the distribution begun by us. With that assistance the deserving part of the settlers may get thro' the winter, but without it the consequences will be dreadful. Since you left us I have had the luck to have a return of my old friends the "Biles," which has hindered me from visiting your good family, but I hear they are all well. The Locusts from Maugerville and Burton, together with my other friends in the Ration way, give me little respite and I have snatched a moment at a late hour to say I am, Dear Sir,

Yours sincerely,

Wm. Garden.

No. 43 City of St. John, 1st Nov'r, 1785.

These are to certify Thomas Aston Coffin, Esq., Pay Master of Contingencies to the Army at Halifax and all concerned that the sum of eleven pounds five shillings currency is actually due from Government to Captain Alexander Cameron for the freight of 200 barrels of beef from hence to St. Anns, Per the scow Maugerville, at one shilling and a penny half penny for each barrel; having signed three certificates of this tenor and date.

£11.5. Fred. Wm. Hecht, Asst. Com. Gen'l.

A. Bruce.

Report of Board of Accounts.

Fort Howe, New Brunswick,

November 5th, 1785.

Present: Colonel Bruce, President; Major Forster, Captain Colvill, Mr. Leonard, Mr. Winslow.

The accounts of Receipts and Issues of Provisions at Fort Howe, commencing 24th February and ending 24th April, 1785, having been examined, they are found to be right cast, but there appears to be a large deficiency of Provisions. The Board after careful inquiry are of opinion that the Commissary was subject to great inconveniences by the peculiar situation of the stores. That from the want of a convenient deposit the provisions were exposed to frequent depredations, and there is ample proof of repeated thefts. These circumstances are in some degree an alleviation of the charge which must otherwise have fallen upon the Commissary. * *

The Board proceeded to the examination of the following accounts which were approved and recommended for payment.

(1.) Abstract of pay due clerks, store keepers and laborers employed in the commissariat at Fort Howe to 31st Oct. 1785, amounting to £69.0.10 stg. Dollars at 4s. 8d.

(2.) Pay due the expressmen of the 54th Regiment amounting to £1.2.0 sterling; dollars at 4s. 8d.

(3.) (4.) (5.) Artificers, laborers &c employed in the Engineer department at Fort Howe from 25th July to 24th October 1785 amounting to £171.7.6 currency.

(6.) Abstract of sundry accounts for articles furnished and services performed in the Engineer department at Fort Howe between the 25th August and 24th October 1785, as follows:—

(a) Acct. of Wm. Donaldson £254.8.4 currency.
(b). Do. Hazen & White £20.7.6 currency.
(c) Do. Ebenezer Spicer £90 currency.
(d) Do. Elias Skidmore £40.10 currency.
(e) Do. Alexander Fairchild £35.10 currency.
(f) Do. Thomas Jennings £11.4 currency.
(g) Do. John Sutherland £1.6.3 currency.
(h) Do. Benjamin I. Gray £0.19.3 currency.
(i) Do. Bradford Gilbert & Co. £9.15 currency.
(j) Do. Freight to sundry persons for transporting provisions to St. Anns amounting to £44.15 currency.

The Board adjourned to Wednesday the 16th inst.

A. Bruce.

James Campbell, Military Secretary, to Edward Winslow.

Halifax, 19th November, 1785.

Sir,—I am honored with your letter of the 4th instant by Lieut. Gordon, now acting Paymaster of Contingencies &c., at this place, vice Whitlock deceased, and feel myself highly honored by the preamble of your letter, and gladly accept of that familiar correspondence you so frankly and so obligingly propose upon the footing of our mutual attachment to General Campbell. But here sir permit me to remind you that (unless I am very much deceived) I have already been admitted to the friendship of hospitality in your house, and to the protection of your household Gods. Some little attentions I was enabled to shew you on Staten Island when Brigade Major to General Campbell in 1777, together with your own hospitable disposition, procured me the honor of a Bed at your house in New York, and I recollect that the house you then inhabited had the year before been occupied by Capt. Powell and some officers of the 49th Regt. However,

my dear Sir, your well established character, and more particularly the high estimation in which you are held by Friends for whose judgment I bear the greatest deference and respect, makes me anxiously ambitious of being admitted to your confidence and friendship.

The General is fully sensible of the delicate part you had to act in mustering the Loyalists and Disbanded Troops, and of the disinterested principles and motives that actuated you to the undertaking of it. But the exactness wherewith it evidently appears to have been taken, and the perspicuity wherewith it is stated, fully justify his opinion that no Person could have been found so adequate to the Task.

The General is concerned for the embarrassments and inconveniences that you have experienced from Mr. Hecht's unaccommodating temper and ill humor, but the more the difficulties, the more credit results from bearing with and overcoming them. The General is pleased that Mr. Garden's conduct on the contrary was so much to your ease and satisfaction.

Your conduct in taking the City muster perfectly corresponds with the General's ideas of what is right and just, in due conformity to His Majesty's most gracious intentions. For surely the Royal Arm was only stretched out to furnish relief, comfort and consolation where necessity called for and demanded them.

The General's sentiments regarding the granting of Provisions to Persons emigrating from one District to another, or from one Province to another, will be fully explained to you by the enclosed advertisement that has been published here, and which he requests you will cause to be published also in New Brunswick. For the General must conceive it to be the intention of Government to furnish a general and impartial encouragement to the settling of these Provinces; and to foster and animate the cultivation and improvement of one part to the prejudice of another part would be to pervert instead of aiding these gracious intentions.

And lastly on the concluding subject matter of your letter (the Department of Paymaster of Contingencies) the General wishes to know, in case it may prove necessary to send you more cash, whether the Deputy Paymaster General's bills could be transacted in New Brunswick on the same footing they are in Halifax (that is at a premium of 2 1-2 per cent, and the Dollars at 4s. 6d. or 455 Dollars and 30-54 parts for £100 sterling.

And for your information regarding expenditures properly authorized as extraordinaries of the Army, the General has directed me to furnish you an official copy of his orders herewith transmitted to Colonel Bruce, for your information of their purport and extent.

I have the honor to be Sir,

Your most obed't humble servant,

James Campbell, Secretary.

Lieut. Hugh Mackay Gordon to Edward Winslow.

Halifax, 20th Nov'r, 1785.

My dear Winslow,—Previous to my arrival in Town, Whitlock died and the General appointed me in his room, so Brother how do you do. It is 10s. pr. diem while it lasts.

* * * * * * * * *

You will perceive by the proclamation the arrival of Dundas,* &c., and I find your claim is among the number that are brought out.

They intend to remain here until next June, when they will visit your Province. As I know Dundas well, and Mr. Pemberton being one of our Whist Party at the Generals, let me offer every service I can render you or yours on this occasion. Dundas told me the sooner the claimants came to Halifax the better as they would be considered in the first sum voted.

Campbell has wrote you an Epistle and the orders that accompany it will shew his ideas, he likes writing much better than I do.

My horses and myself were almost knocked up by the journey, D-m-n-d bad roads indeed, however, I pushed 'em. Kitty [James] desires to be remembered to the Colonel as do all his friends. Pray remember me kindly to your family. How does Oak Point get on. The General has planned a House which shall be sent the next opp'y.

Adieu, Affectionately yours

H. M. G.

(P S.) I had almost forgot to tell you Will Coffin is gone to England and I believe to endeavor to get the appointment I have. They need not keep it secret for God knows I am not avaricious. Townsend did not even mention him, he recommended Moody.

Gen'l Arnold arrived yesterday, Supercargo in the Lord Middleton, and I understand means to visit your province. Mr. Hake† and he will be good company. H. M. G.

To the Commissioners appointed by Act of Parliament for enquiring into the Losses and Services of the American Loyalists.

The memorial of A. B. sheweth,‡

First, Claimant should state acts of Loyalty and Services.

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*Col. Thomas Dundas and Jeremiah Pemberton came to adjust the claims of the Loyalists who had not been able to proceed to England in order to present their claims and apply for compensation for the losses they had incurred as provided by the British parliament. They opened an office in Halifax, Nov. 15, 1785, afterwards proceeding to St. John, and thence to the upper provinces. Jeremiah Pemberton was appointed chief justice of Nova Scotia in 1788.

†Mr. Hake was storekeeper at Fort Howe, and was charged with embezzling provisions, etc.

‡The original of the above is printed in the form of a circular. It was undoubtedly meant to aid the Loyalists in putting their memorials in proper form.

Secondly, Losses sustained in consequence thereof, or of the Claimant's Attachment to the British Government; a Schedule whereof is desired to be subjoined to the Memorial, ascertaining very particularly and accurately the Description and value of the Property lost.

Your Memorialist therefore prays that his (or her) Case may be taken into your consideration, in order that your Memorialist may be enabled, under your Report, to receive such Aid or Relief as his (or her) Losses and Services may be found to deserve.

N. B. The names of the Witnesses, their Descriptions, and Places of Abode, with the Particulars to which they are respectively to speak, are to be inserted at the end of the Schedule and the Documents whereby the Claim is to be made out are to be given in at the time of leaving the Memorial.

The Commissioners will require the best Evidence the Nature and Circumstances of the Case will admit.

Ward Chipman to Edward Winslow.

[St. John], Wednesday, 4th Jan'y, 1786.

My dear Winslow,—I thank you most cordially for your letter; it is really a cordial to me and revives feelings which always have and I hope always will constitute the greatest happiness of my life. You will see however by the date of this that I can have no time to give you the particular detail you wish of our operations during the Election Poll and scrutiny. Yours was handed to me last evening; the man by whom this is to go, Byles tells me, is to set off tomorrow morning, and the house is to meet at eleven o'clock today to present their speaker and hear the Governor's speech. I will however snatch every interval minute I can get during the day to answer the most essential objects of your enquiries.

I inclose you a sketch of the Charge I intended to have made at the opening of our Court here, but as Col. Ludlow* then charged the Jury it was not delivered—it may afford you some general hints. * * *

2 o'clock—I really wonder at your idea of your attendance at the General Assembly not being absolutely necessary. The Governor regrets exceedingly your and Col. Allen's absence and has told Murray so today, who assured him that nothing but your Court next week, which it was absolutely necessary for you to attend, prevented your coming. The Gov-

*This was probably Col. Gabriel G. Ludlow, the first mayor of St. John. The supreme court of judicature opened at St. John on Tuesday, Feb. 1, 1785, for the first time. Benjamin Marston, who was present writes of it thus in his journal:—"The chief justice gave a very judicious, sensible charge to the grand jury. The "advantage of a derniere resort for justice in all civil and criminal cases will be "very great to the people of this new province. They will find a mighty odds be-"tween having justice travelling regularly about them and being obliged to cross "the Bay of Fundy and travel 130 miles to Halifax."

ernor hoped that the Court would not detain you more than a day, and I am sure will be greatly disappointed if you are not in town as soon as possible. There never can be a time again when the abilities, industry and exertion of every member of the General Assembly will be more necessary, and I suppose if the Governor knows of this opportunity, that you will receive a particular message from him.

The house met yesterday, only 13 in all, just enough to make a house. Owing to the stupidity of the Lower Cove Candidates in not attending the scrutiny and defending their votes the Sheriff has returned us, but our seats are to be contested by vehement petition.* As our election was a contested one it was tho't best not to choose anyone of us speaker, otherwise Bliss† would clearly have been the man. We therefore made choice of Botsford‡ who was presented and approved to-day. As there are so few members in Town the Governor recommended to us to adjourn to Monday without delivering his speech, which we have accordingly done.

Dr. Paine‖ is appointed Clerk of the house.

I have nothing from England later than the letters which Sally has forwarded to you from Mr. Watson and Coffin. It is undoubted that Sir Guy is to have a peerage and come out Governor General in the Spring, Coffin Secretary, Mr. Watson Commissary General, Bill Smith Chief Justice of Canada, and it is said Rob't Auchmucty Chief Justice of Nova Scotia.

Geyer has failed for an amazing sum. I get no letters from him and suppose the little I had in the world is now all gone. Indeed with per-

*There is quite a story in connection with this election. Governor Carleton decided that the electors should include all males of 21 years and upwards resident three months in the province. This was certainly a very democratic franchise. The contest resolved itself in St. John into one between the Upper Cove and the Lower Cove—the former representing the more professional and aristocratic element, the latter the democracy. The candidates for the former party (city and county) were Jonathan Bliss, Ward Chipman, Christopher Billopp, William Pagan, Stanton Hazard and John McGeorge, and for the latter party Tertullus Dickinson, Richard Lightfoot, Richard Bonsall, Peter Grim, John Boggs and Alexander Reid. The election was fiercely contested, according to the old style of open voting, and in the course of it a riot occurred at the Mallard House, on King street, to quell which the soldiers of the garrison were called out. It appears that the democratic party had actually a majority of the votes polled, but in the scrutiny, as mentioned above, the sheriff returned the opposite party. The election was protested and the matter heard at length by the house of assembly, where it was resolved by a vote of two to one (St. John members not voting), "That the petitioners having neglected at the scrutiny "before the sheriff to justify the votes struck off, cannot now be admitted to "prove those votes good." A curious ill-worded and ungrammatical petition was presented to Governor Carleton in connection with the business, asking him to dissolve the assembly. This the governor declined to do.

†Hon. Jonathan Bliss, the attorney general. See notice of him in Lawrence's Foot Prints at p. 27. He was of Springfield, Massachusetts, and graduated at Harvard in 1763. He became chief justice and president of the council, and died at Fredericton Oct. 1, 1822, at the age of 80 years.

‡Amos Botsford of Westmorland County.

‖Dr. William Paine, member for Charlotte County.

plexities of one kind and another my spirits are very unusually depressed. I see nothing before me but poverty and disappointments, nor have I experienced any thing else since I came to this Province.

I wish to God I could make the excursion you suggest to your part of the Country. I am sure it would do me good—a few of our old fashioned tete-a-tetes would make me myself again, but this cannot soon happen. I shall, however, be greatly relieved by seeing you here. Remember me most affectionately to Mrs. Winslow and the little ones. I am rejoiced to hear that Polly remains free of any ill-consequences from the accident. Give my love very particularly to the Commissary* and let me know if he continues to observe my lessons at breakfast. I am afraid you and Mama will indulge him too much.

God bless you all prays most sincerely

Your faithful and affectionate

Chip.

For Heaven's sake send forward Stelle,† Lyman‡ and the rest of the members in your parts.

Gregory Townsend to Ward Chipman.

Halifax, 25 January, 1786.

Dear Chipman,—I congratulate you (if it is worth it) on your getting the better of the Lower Covers. It must be better for any country, new or old, to have their public concerns conducted by men of science and principle, rather than illiterate or bad men of any class. You used to be an honest clever body enough, hope you will be better for the wear for many years to come.

Our friends at New York were well the 14th ultimo. How do Ned [Winslow] and Coffin pass the winter? I am told our friend Pen. is going to England. My best respects to all that worthy family, Mr. Coffin, the Ludlows, Putnams, &c. Say a thousand clever things for me to Mrs. Collector.‖ I hope he is well in health and spirits. What is become of Tyng?

I am ever, Your faithful friend,

G. Townsend.

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*The reference is to Winslow's son, Thos. Aston Coffin, named after Commissary Coffin.

†Edward Stelle, member for York County. See biographical note under date September 28th, 1785.

‡Captain Daniel Lyman was gazetted captain in the Prince of Wales American Regiment in 1777, and served through the war. He belonged to New Haven, Connecticut, and graduated at Yale College in 1770. He will be frequently mentioned in these pages. He was a son of General Phineas Lyman. He settled at Fredericton, but afterwards went to England, and was at one time governor of the Scilly Islands.

‖Mrs. William Wanton was a general favorite. Her husband was first collector at the port of St. John.

Edward Winslow to Ward Chipman.

Fredericton, Feb'ry 21, 1786.

Dr. Chip,—As 'tis possible that you may not have seen the petition now circulating in the Country, I inclose a copy of it. The weazel varlets had the insolence to detail Oliver Bourdet and Handasyde (the kneeling man)* as a Committee to procure subscribers in this part of the country.

In my walk yesterday morning to town I was informed that they had opened a room at a public house, and were haranguing country subscribers and carrying on other operations in the true Lower Cove stile. I was also told what was the general purport of the petition, and that it was the intention of a number of our Bucks to take the Committee, petition and all, tye 'em in a sled backs to the Horses, and drive 'em to Maugerville. I at first determined to retreat and leave them to pursue their own method, but on second consideration I thought best to interfere, as I apprehended a frolic of this sort might have been attended with some unpleasant consequences. On enquiry I could not find sufficient foundation to institute a process against the Delinquents, and it was necessary to do something as the Gentry here were growing outrageous. I therefore thought best to publish the inclosed advertisement which I believe had the desired effect, as I am now informed that the gentry have abandoned their Quarters and moved off.

This is a new mode of proceeding, but 'tis concise, and I flatter myself that in some future collections of Forms it may be introduced under the title of Winslow's advertisements "de bene esse," or something like it, at any rate I'll venture to affirm that 'tis effectual in some cases. Ask the Chief Justice's opinion and Judge Allen's relative to the legality and propriety of this proceeding. If any more of your gentry shew their noses here I'll adopt, in my official capacity, a still shorter method—damn me if I don't put 'em in the stocks.

Do seize some cheerful late moment and tell me what's going forward. I feel a little anxious, and I believe if the weather comes very good I shall make another trip.

Adieu, ever & ever Your

——— Ed. Winslow.

Sir John Wentworth to Edward Winslow.

Halifax, 13th March, 1786.

My dear Sir,—I wrote you about two months since at which time I was in hopes to have taken your friendly hand before this. But the death of my Father and official business have detained me here. I am negotiat-

*George Handyside was charged before the general assembly of the province on Jan. 26, 1786, with speaking "opprobious words" of the house, tending to excite sedition. Witnesses were examined, and he was found guilty, whereupon it was ordered "That he ask pardon on his knees and be reprimanded by the "speaker, and stand committed until he obey this order." The said George asked pardon of the house on his knees, was reprimanded by the speaker from the chair and discharged, paying fees.

ing my claims at the American Office. In this vicinity there is nobody that has seen my estate at Wolfboro and I wish to get some respectable opinion relative to it that may be given to the Commissioners. I had selected the best lots of all my property in that country, which were granted in the large measure usual for such cases—4,387 acres (but amounted nearer to 6,000). These included the islands, Park, Gardens, Buildings, &c., and were most excellent choice land—more than 500 acres under high cultivation. It was subject to no service or quite rent—a shire market and fair town. The roads made. In the centre of a fertile and populous country, at the source of the Merrimac River on one side and of Piscataqua river on the other. The Park substantially fenced in about 600 acres—in it a saw mill and Grist mill complete. The House 102 feet long, 41 wide, 24 or 25 ft. posts, built of the best and by the best workmen in that Country. Two Stable and Coach Houses 62 by 40 and 24 or 25 ft. post—built for duration—glazed and painted completely. One barn framed, boarded, shingled, painted, & complete as possible, 106 or more long, 32 to 40 wide, & 18 to 22 high—a large dairy house, smoke and ashes house. Carpenter, Blacksmith's and Cabinet maker's shops with all possible instruments and tools. Cattle, sheep, horses, small stock, boats, implements and furniture of all sorts, complete and in super-abundance. The whole included, I think the 4,387 acres are undervalued at £5 sterling pr. acre.

I am sure had I put the cash it cost me into the Boston treasury the sum would have far exceeded.

The year I came from New Hampshire the produce on that Estate exceeded the consumption of my whole family and you know how we lived, and every year it became more valuable without cost.

I beg you would send me your authenticated certificate on this point. In my estimation I put the whole at £20,000 sterling. I shall be also obliged in your certificate if you will be so good as to mention your opinion of the appearance of my general establishment in town and country for Houses, Gardens, Furniture, Servants, Equipages, Horses, &c. I do not mean any appreciation thereof, but only your opinion whether they were good, plentiful, and becoming my rank in that country, in proportion to what was done by other Governors or men of fortune in America.

I shall be exceedingly obliged to you in these matters and confide in your friendship to excuse the trouble. I had rather give yours than most others judgment on these points from your knowledge and experience in them.

The Commissioners talk of removing hence in May and as they close their reports here for the year I wish for your answer hereto as soon as possible.

We have no news from England later than 22d Nov'r to me, via

Quebec; says Sir Guy Carleton will be Gov'r Gen'l with full patronage, Governor C. to go to Quebec, a division of that Gov't into Two Provinces in contemplation. Many are named for N. Brunswic. Whoever comes I hope will be friendly to the people.

Adieu, and be assured I am your sincere friend,

J. Wentworth.

HUE AND CRY.

Whereas on the night of Sunday the 26th Instant, the House of Richard Bydder, on Block No. 1, or the Maryland Block, near the lower boundary of the County of York was consumed by Fire, and the Bodies of the said Richard Bydder, his Wife and five Children were consumed therein. And whereas we the subscribers, Justices of the Peace for the County of York, have received information from divers of his Majesty's discreet and faithful Subjects, that there is good reason to apprehend that the said Richard Bydder, his Wife and five Children were robbed and inhumanly murdered, And that the said House was set on Fire by the person who perpetrated the horrid deed.

And now we are further given to understand that there is great cause of suspicion against a Man who passed by the name of Pendergrass, of the following description—Rather exceeding six feet high,—Had on a light coloured Cloth Coat and Waistcoat, A pair of Brown Overhalls, and a pair of large Fisherman's Boots, A slouched Hat, his hair untyed,—He say'd that he was lately from Ireland, had been at Shelburne, and had come to this Province to settle.

These are therefore to request and require all Magistrates, Sheriffs, Constables, and all other publick Officers, And all other His Majesty's good Subjects, That they give every aid and assistance in their power towards apprehending and securing the said Pendergrass, so that this most barbarous transaction may be duly examined into.

Ed. Winslow,
Monson Hoyt.

Fredericton, March 31, 1786.

Mather Byles to Edward Winslow.

[St. John] Saturday Evening, April 1st, 1786.

My dear Sir,—After leaving you last Saturday I jog'd on very leisurely and arrived at Say's* by sunset without any other accident than a little ducking in getting off the bank at Maugerville.

*Gervas Say, one of the pre-Loyalist settlers, was a magistrate of the old County of Sunbury. He was a man of influence, and during the Revolution very loyal to the crown. He was appointed by Major Studholme, in 1783, along with Ebenezer Foster, Fyler Dibblee and James White, as a committee to report on the state of settlement of the River St. John. Their very interesting report has been printed in the Collections of the N. B Historical Society. Gervas Say afterwards taught the Indian school at Sheffield, under the Board of the New England Company for Christianizing the Indians.

The next morning I pursued my route on the ice as far as Grimross Island and finding the ice growing very rotten I took to the woods as far as Jemseg where I found a boat and proceeded to Long Island.

Next morning I arrived at Oak Point, the end of the navigation, dismissed my boat and went to bed with a violent headache the consequence of having got very wet by the rain. However I recruited myself well with about fourteen hours sleep and at daybreak on Tuesday set off with Mr. Jones, whom I found here. After creeping over rotten ice, skipping among the cakes, scrambling along shore where it was practicable and wading thro' the water where it was not, I arrived at Looseley's,* left my companion and struck through the woods to Major Coffins. By this time I had acquired a tolerable appetite for my breakfast and was very well disposed to accept an invitation to pass the day there. A heavy S. W. storm kept me there a Wednesday but on Thursday morning I again got under way and shook hands with the family at one. As the Surveyor General had given up the hope of seeing me till the River opened, I saved all my credit and received a handsome compliment for my exertions.

I waited on the Chief Justice in the morning, delivered my St. Ann's papers, explained your reasons for wishing the time of notice altered, and obtained the inclosed minute of Council to alter the time at St. Johns to 3 weeks and at Fredericton to the time between your receiving this and the 22d April, which is the day I have inserted as you will see by the enclosed paper. Sower† will insert it in next Tuesday's.

Marston is undetermined when he shall set off, I shall therefore get all the papers ready and send them by Dalzel who goes next Wednesday.

Chipman has seen your memorial and pronounces it without fault. I have got the approbation on Mr. Garden's account without difficulty. The accounts I left behind are of consequence for me to have here, do forward them by the first conveyance. I hope all Campbell's vouchers will be ready for Mr. Marston as he talks of the middle of this month, which I think will give us plenty of time.

*Charles Loosely kept a tavern on the Long Reach at this time. He had formerly kept tavern at New York and Brooklyn. He was quite a character—used to advertise in doggerel rhyme, &c.

†Christopher Sower, editor of the Royal Gazette, of which he was also the proprietor, was formerly a printer at Germantown, Pennsylvania. From 1778 to the close of the war he was at New York. He came to St. John in 1784, where he was postmaster and King's printer. In 1790 he moved his printing press to a place he purchased at French Village, in Kings County. Here he built a two story double log house for his residence and printing office, and printed the Royal Gazette, the Journals of the House of Assembly and other official publications. He called this place Brookville. He was an unsuccessful candidate for election to the house of assembly in 1792. He had a very uncomfortable encounter with George Leonard in August, 1795. See under date 13 Aug., 1795, in this book. He was succeeded as King's printer by John Ryan. He left St. John in May, 1799, and went to Baltimore, where he died of apoplexy July 2, same year, at the age of 43 years.

Hailes has undertaken to write you all the news and I won't bore you with repetitions, but inclose the papers and wipe my hands of it. Doctor Payne has put up some calomel for the Commissary and Pen, which I hope will operate better than the Pink root. Sally Miller has recovered—is at home and looks as well as ever, all the rest well.

Major Coffin is gone on his survey of the road* to-day, but goes no further than the Oromocto. He desires to be remembered, and says as many town lots as you can get in his name are very much at your service. Nase and myself crossed each other on the Grand Bay so I had no opportunity of speaking to him, but the Major says Nase thinks his town lot at St. Anns very valuable—if so I suppose you won't ask for it.

Mr. Daunt is in town, he sends his compliments and means to beg your acceptance of a barrel of cyder as soon as it can be got to you. Your own shall be the first object of my attention.

This is a heterogenous mass, but neither my head or my hands are in high order. It will go by Mr. John Hazen† and I shall desire him to forward it on from Oromocto by express. I have got your letter by Guin and will forward Lewis his certificate as soon as Mr. Parker returns here from Passamaquoddy, where he has gone to examine a vessel of Gilham Butler's in which they suspect he is exporting foreign oil as the produce of British America. All my Halifax friends are well and my Father begs a particular remembrance to you.

I shall commit to Mr. John Hazen a parcel for Mama of which you are only to see the outside. Give my love to her and all the little folks—tell the Commissary I long to see him in his new clothes which I am told are wonderfully superb. Do put him in the boat when you come down. Let me know how the little folks get thro' the small pox‡ for I shall feel very anxious till it is safely over. On Monday I shall get again into the beaten track and double my diligence to forward the Governor's plan. The idea of another furlough, which I shall keep in my eye, will make me pursue the task with alacrity, for the society and conversation of my benevolent friend constitute the principal enjoyment of his most affectionate

Mather Byles.

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*This was the road from St. John to Fredericton on the west side of the river. It was not completed for many years after this date.

†John Hazen was a nephew of Hon. William Hazen, and came to St. John with his uncle to live in 1775. He settled after a time at Oromocto, where he built a house and store and engaged in business. He married, in 1787, Priscilla McKinstry, a daughter of Doctor Wm. McKinstry, by whom he had a family of twelve children. J. Douglas Hazen of St. John is one of his descendants.

‡Inoculation with the small-pox matter was in vogue at this time as a preventative, but it was in danger and loathsomeness only one degree removed from having the disease in the natural way. Many who submitted to it were pock-marked for life and some died.

Mather Byles to Edward Winslow.

[St. John] Tuesday, April 11th, 1786.

My dear Sir,—Vanhorne* has just acquainted me that he setts off for St. Anns in the morning and I embrace the opportunity to forward you some newspapers, two letters from Annapolis, and one from Mr. Marston, who doesn't leave St. Johns till the beginning of next week. * * *

The Chief Justice, Captain Sproule, and Mr. Hazen set off for Saint Anns next Monday, the two former to be present at the Auction. We are all engaged here in the Cumberland road†, which is quite a hobby Horse, and a sum sufficient nearly to carry it through is already subscribed—the terms are a grant of 100 acres on the road (without expence) for every five pounds subscribed, and the officers of Government have agreed to carry the grants thro' and take their fees in land at the same proportion. The people don't enter so readily into the idea of a St. Ann's road‡ and the Council after hearing the report of Major Coffin have resolved only to carry it to Coffin's Creek‖ for the present, and determine on some future day whether the best route will be through the back country or along the shore of the river. * * *

Remember my coat the very first opportunity from St. Ann's. I haven't a coat to put on. I can't even get another coat made till I receive it for it's the latest English cut. I shall have the rheumatism in my elbows in three days if it doesn't arrive. In one word recollect your anxiety about the cyder and then recollect that similar is the distress of your threadbare friend,

M. Byles.

(P. S.) Love to every body at home. Are the little folks inoculated?

Edward Winslow to Ward Chipman.

Fredericton, 14th May, 1786.

Dear Chip,—I want at the next exhibition to open a handsome blast. I mean, if I can get materials, to start with an explanation of the general principles on which the Code of Laws for this country was built, and I intend to take the Laws one by one and convince the good people of York County that the representatives of the Country have done their duty, and

*Probably Gabriel Van Horne, who kept the leading inn or tavern at Fredericton in early times.

†This was the road leading from St. John to the head of the Bay of Fundy through the counties of Kings and Westmorland, known as "the Old Westmorland Road."

‡The St. Ann's road was the road from St. John to Fredericton on the west side of the river.

‖Coffin's Creek probably was the Nerepis River.

that the inhabitants at large ought to consider themselves everlastingly obliged &c. &c. &c. You may laugh at the idea—and you eternally do, all of you, laugh at such matters as trivial, unimportant, and weighing nothing in the great political scale, but you are mistaken. I have watched the thermometers here with unremitted attention. I know how they fluctuate and I see the necessity of keeping up a steady course of operations. In the present instance I could do without your assistance, possibly, but I should hammer and work at a terrible rate and, probably, in the end make some mistakes. You by devoting half an hour can prevent it. At any rate, for Heaven's sake send me up, if 'tis possible, the laws in a collected body immediately, and I think your shortest way to gratify me will be to send your own notes at the end of 'em. Don't fail me at this time, I find that our next Court will be attended by a multitude of people, and that the opening of it is a matter of great expectation. You know how ambitious I am in such cases, and you know, and therefore must commend my present motives. I am involved in such variety of business that I really cannot attend with sufficient care to this matter. My engagements as a farmer, gardner, fisherman, and trustee* are very serious.

And now Chip what should hinder you from making an excursion here on the 2d Tuesday of June? You will certainly be engaged in one cause and that will give you an opportunity of shewing yourself to the people. There is really a great deal of business in embryo here, and it will come out by degrees. I feel too much interested to use all the arguments which flow upon me on this occasion. I therefore will say no more about it.

I write this helter-skelter at a Table where the Trustees are sitting. Let me hear from you as soon as possible.

Ever and Ever, Yours,

Ed. Winslow.

(P. S.) The case which I am desired to retain you in is Chew against Cox, for Cox. It is about a horse.

H. M. Gordon to Edward Winslow.

Halifax, 20th May, 1786.

My dear Winslow,—The packet has this moment arrived and brought the appointment of Sir Guy Carleton to be the Governor General and Commander in Chief in the remaining British Dominions. 'Tis both civil and military, it does not effect Gov. Parr further than he is to have no more than the dignified title of Lt. Governor. My General is fixed† to go home (tho' not expected) as soon after Sir Guy's arrival as he can obtain leave,

*A trustee for the laying out and settlement of the city of Fredericton.
†That is, fixed in his resolve.

and I think him perfectly right. He has had a most friendly [letter] from His Grace of Argyle and I am sure he will not suffer on his return.

I was sorry to be obliged to write you officially this day relative to the discontinuance of your appointment, but as I have a fellow feeling it became the less irksome for I'm sure neither you nor I expected to hold it so long, indeed we always thought it useless. However I have only to beg of you my good friend to forward your accounts and vouchers with all expedition, for I don't know where I am to go, but it will be somewhere and very soon, so pray don't delay if you have any regard for an old Friend.

It is not in my power to say who comes or goes yet; when I learn you shall hear from

Your sincere Friend,

H. M. Gordon.

Edward Winslow to Ward Chipman.

Fredericton, 26th May, 1786.

My dear Chip,—The inclosed letter to the Governor with the examinations contained therein will explain to you a transaction which has been the source of great concern to our friend Col. Allen and myself. You will peruse the papers, seal the letter to the Governor and present it, and I expect of you that you will in our behalf urge the absolute necessity of the attendance of the Chief Justice.

The Indians on one hand are clamorous for an instant decision. The multitude (I mean the people of the country) cannot reconcile themselves to the idea that two men of fair character should be sacrificed to satisfy the barbarous claim of a set of savages. They are almost persuaded to a man that the prisoners had no ill intention. In this situation you will naturally suppose that we have an arduous task to keep them quiet. We have assured both parties that the men shall be tried fairly and (if guilty) that they will be punished. We have told them that the Chief Justice of the Province must attend and that he will set off as soon as he receives the information from us.

For fear of accidents I wish when you deliver the Governor's letter that you would, if necessary, suggest the peculiar situation of Col. Allen. The whole Corps of Indians are encamped around his house, and their rudeness has already distressed his family and made him unhappy. He has lately made a contract with them for a lot of land*, and they think they

*Judge Isaac Allen, in 1794, purchased from the Indians 500 acres, their reserve at Aukpaque (Spring Hill), and the island called Savage Island, for the sum of $1,650. This purchase was made by permission of the governor in council. The village of Indians engaged in a very hilarious celebration of the event, which lasted until the money was all spent. Judge Allen was personally very kind to the Indians; also to the negroes, a little colony of whom lived at Kingsclear.

have a right to call on him whenever they please. This event has increased their familiarity and I believe if they had an idea that he possessed authority to decide in the present case, they would press him to a peremptory decision, and if it was not agreeable to them they might render the situation of the family very uncomfortable. I am not apt you know to anticipate evils, but I really suspect that the Indians would be very troublesome on such an occasion.

These considerations induce me to wish that the Chief Justice will come and that he will come immediately. I know Allen will not offer any of these reasons it is therefore doubly my duty. Impress 'em strongly on the Governor.

And now Chip let me tell you once more that I think you should come to this Country on some public occasion. Can a better opportunity offer than the present? The prosecution is a matter of natural expectation on the one side and of great concern on the other. Either the Attorney or Solicitor General must and ought to attend. Allen authorizes me to tell you that he has business of some consequence to engage you in. There are a variety of other reasons why Judge Ludlow and yourself should come. Don't fail.

Allen's gown and band is at your house. His coat and waistcoat at Judge Putnam's. Pray don't forget 'em. He's very anxious about 'em.

Yours,

Ed. Winslow.

Mather Byles to Edward Winslow.

[St. John] Wednesday P. M., 16th Aug't, 1786.

I perfectly agree with you that marble covered note books should not be disgraced with the lumber of accounts current and receipts—they should be wholly devoted to "serious love letters" and I have accordingly altered my first determination of undertaking a second volume and shall only write a long story on quarto.

In the first place about your provisions—neither peas nor beans are to be had and bread was so much dearer than flour that I didn't hesitate about taking the latter. I chose the fattest pork I could pick out from the consideration that it would go farther. Both were procured from Hayt the auctioneer, who sells much cheaper than any person in town, but sells only for ready money. I thought it better to pay now than give 20 per cent. more six months hence, when it is probable you will be full as poor as at present. Coffin had parted with every fish he could spare and I could not find any elsewhere. Rum is 3s. 6d. a gallon here and if you can get it at that price at Fredericton there is no advantage in sending any.

* * * * * * *

Carre has another barrel of crackers on board his sloop for you which I hope will reach you without accident. I stuffed into the hold just as he was setting off last time a bag containing two bushels of hair, which was all Peter Grim can muster for the present; tell me how much more you want and I will send it. Mr. Hazen says you may find in the lime he sent you abundance which is white enough for plaister or white wash, and he should not be able to find better if he picked out a hogshead.

I shall send you one hundred dollars by Donham. For heaven's sake make some settlement about the Pouquouck business as soon as possible [evidently referring to the Winslow mill at Pokiok]—it makes my heart ache every sum I pay for you now, as I fear it may subject you to future distress—'tis a key I can't touch upon but my own cheerfulness suffers as much as yours can, and will till I see you disembarassed.

Col. and Judge Ludlow are I suppose with you. I have said to Donham that he had better do nothing about the windows till I hear from you, but I have desired Gabriel to let him reconnoitre the house and make what observations he pleases. I will undertake to get your paper by the first conveyance if its in Halifax. * * *

So much for business public and private. And now for a little "marble covered" chit chat.

When Major Gordon's latest accounts are once more out of my hands I shall feel a little at leisure. I think they will all be entered and the duplicate transmitted by the middle of September. The moment this duty is over I have made my resolution to step on board Carre and pay a visit at St. Anns. It will save you the trouble and expense of a visit to the city [St. John]. We can settle the accounts of the period, make all the estimates and write all the letters in two days, and then, for four or five more at least, I will enjoy myself in the society of a friend who is next to my heart, and whose conversation is my greatest pleasure. We will talk over everything, decide on the probability of all your schemes, prove that everything must turn out right in the end, and we'll have abundance of pudding and plenty of baked beans. Lord I haven't spent such a five days this six months as it will be. I shall keep it in view and work for the month to come with double alacrity.

I love to read your affectionate paragraphs, not that they give me new ideas of you or your friendship but they revive a whole train of old ones, and there isn't a more pleasing sensation can swell the heart of man than that which I feel when I read them—it choaks one a little to be sure—something like an egg in the neck of a quart bottle if you know how that is. * * * *

Mrs. and Miss Cottnam have got settled here and open school in a day or two. The detachment of Artillery has also arrived and a Mr. Rainsford,

a half pay officer of the 9th, with his family. He is appointed Receiver General of Quit rents and takes a farm on the river near Saint Anns.

There is little news at Halifax. The Nantucket settlement* goes on slowly and the whaling voyages this season have not been successful. Hinchelwood has been tried for a riot in Col. Goold's house, is found guilty and 'tis thought the fine will be nearly equal to the value of his estate.

The Commissioner has taken down his house at the dock yard and is building a very magnificent one in the same spot.

Jonathan Snelling† has been here lately and has made a purchase of Dr. Paine's Island where he removes immediately and Foster Hutchinson will go with him.

My Father mentions the College in his last letter as a great object of his wishes, and bids me thank you for the friendly offers of your assistance. The Governor and Sir John are still at Cumberland and Major Coffin sailed this morning for Rhode Island. * * *

Remember me very affectionately to the family and tell the Portland ladies it's high time they got back. Donham takes a set of new fashioned china for Polly's tea table, which is so brilliant that I'm sure it must please her.

Most affectionately yours,

Mather Byles.

Col. Thos. Carleton's Appointment as Brigadier General.

Head Quarters, Quebec,
October 25th, 1786.

Colonel Thomas Carleton is appointed to act as Brigadier General to His Majesty's Forces in North America and Newfoundland. After the departure of Major General Campbell the Troops stationed in Nova Scotia and its dependencies, New Brunswick and Newfoundland, will make their reports to Brigadier General Carleton, which he will transmit to the Commander in Chief by every convenient opportunity.

Mather Byles to Edward Winslow.

Friday Evening [Nov. 1786.]

My dear Sir,—Since enclosing my letters by Mr. Odell I have received your favours by Mr. Odber‡ and Captain Powell. I have devoted the day

*For information regarding the Nantucket Settlement see Canadian Archives for 1894 under dates May 25, July 26, Aug. 1, and Nov. 15, 1785; also April 20, May 30, and June 29, 1786.

†Jonathan Snelling of Boston came to Halifax in 1776 with the British forces. He married a daughter of Judge Foster Hutchinson. He died in Halifax in 1809, aged 51 years. Doctor Paine's Island, now called Fry's Island is near Harbor Le Tang, in Charlotte County, N. B.

‡Of the firm of Hall, Lewis, Odber & Co., who at this time had an extensive business at St. John.

to collecting the articles you have wrote for, and as the evening is pretty far advanced shall only have time to give you a concise account of my operations. * * *

The paper hanging which you sent down the pattern of was all purchased by Ward, and I was very glad of it, for I thought it precious ugly. I have got another pattern which I hope, for the honor of my taste, you will like much better. There was no room for it in the box and I have put it in Carre's cabin. What think you of the inclosed pattern for one of the small bed rooms? 'tis cheap and I fancy would look well. Ask Mama. There is no paper in the place that will do for the great room, but you don't want it immediately and I'll get it from Halifax if you don't go yourself.

All the articles of your list that were to be found here are in the box except a handkerchief which I borrowed and is at present under the care of Betty. It is too thin to steal so you shall have it next time. I heard you say you left some shirts at Merritts, there were none here. There isn't a candle in the place, nor a white wash brush, nor a mouthful of pink root. Capt. Sproule will deliver you the Elixer and Sal Volatile.

Peter Grim will have no hair before Monday and I have positively engaged his whole stock, which you shall have as soon as I can get it to you. I did not know for what purposes the sheeting was wanted of course I acted in the dark. The piece I have sent is very cheap. Colville asked £3. 15s. for the same, Randall's was in my opinion very dear 2s. 3d.—very little finer and only yard wide.

The iron backs are on board Carre* not exactly the size you wrote for but as nigh it as I could get them. They come out in assorted sizes and were the same in all the shops.

You had better let me know what provisions you will want for the winter; by purchasing it together it may possibly be laid in to more advantage. The easy chair is an article that I am very suspicious if I shall meet with, but I have engaged Hoyt† to look out for me. * * *

Tell Mama I generally see little Mary‡ once a day; she is very well and in fine spirits. I have set her up with a whole apparatus of combs, thimbles, spelling books, &c. The novelty of the scene as far at it was disagreeable has worn off, & she has so many little companions with her that

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*That is Carr's vessel, which sailed up and down the river.

†Probably Monson Hoyt, who was then in business in St. John, but possibly James Hoyt, a well known auctioneer.

‡Mary, the young daughter of Edward Winslow, was attending Mrs. Cottnam's school.

she can't fail of passing her time cheerfully. Mrs. Cottnam* wishes you would send down her steele collar by the first opportunity.

Remember me affectionately to all at home; what a house full you have!

I share in all your difficulties and embarrassments as a Son in the distress of his Father, but I think you have passed the deepest part of the slough, and giving out now would be bad as be dam'd, as the Major says.

If Captain Sutherland does not go in the morning, shall send the slips and roots by him; if he does they shall go by Carre next time. Coffin will be in Town on Sunday and I will settle something about Looseley's place, you shall know the result.

While the navigation of the river is free you should collect your winter stock of things from the City.

Once more let me assure you that every exertion which I can make to render you comfortable gladdens the heart of

Your affectionate,

Mather Byles.

Col. Thomas Dundas to Earl Cornwallis.

City of St. John, Province of New Brunswick,

December 28, 1786.

My Lord,—Although at a great distance from this part of the globe, with your attention fully occupied with other matters, I hope a few lines will not be unacceptable from one who has often experienced your friendship. My colleague and I, after having finished the business of our commission at Halifax, visited all the different settlements of Nova Scotia, which surpass anything I could expect to have seen in a climate which has seven months winter. The new settlements made by the Loyalists are in a thriving way, although rum and idle habits contracted during the war are much against them. They have experienced every possible injury from the old inhabitants of Nova Scotia, who are even more disaffected towards the British Government than any of the new States ever were. This makes me much doubt their remaining long dependent.

In the month of October we came to the province where we found very different principles. Mr. Carleton by his own attention and firmness, assisted by a well chosen council has established good government. The province contains all that part of Nova Scotia which lies to the westward of the Bay of Fundy. It contains good lands, the farmers who have fled

*Mrs. Cottnam was a widow, the daughter of Edward Howe, who was killed treacherously by the Indians in 1750. She came to St. John to try the experiment of a school about 1786. Her school was a boarding school for young ladies. After the death of her mother, Mrs. Howe, in 1793, the daughter Deborah Cottnam was allowed the same pension from the government £100 stg., until her own death on the last day of the year 1806.

from the States are well pleased with the soil. The number of Loyalists is 12,000. The old inhabitants are not 3,000 and these are a despicable race ready to sell their improvements as the Loyalists are enabled to purchase from them.

To all appearances the country will be able to furnish corn, vegetables and cattle to the West India Islands. Lumber in the quantity required they must look for elsewhere. I cannot say much for the industry of the disbanded soldiers, indeed I cannot say that I ever saw the policy of bribing soldiers of the Line to leave their regiments—it has by no means answered. All the tradesmen who would be valuable at home are starving here or gone to the States. The half-pay provincial officers are valuable settlers as they are enabled to live well and improve their lands.

Every day brings us a new account of the distracted state of America. Some say that the present wish of the majority is to return to the situation they were in before the war. This I by no means think, but I can say that the friendly disposition of the people towards Great Britain is most wonderfully restored, considering that in 1783 we were inveterate enemies.

Having had the misfortune to lose my father last summer, Lady Eleanor, finding her attention to my parents no longer necessary, volunteered an expedition across the Atlantic with only her maid and an old servant. She is now with me and desires me to offer her best compliments. She rode your old horse from Halifax to Annapolis, and thinks she has seen more of America than some of our Generals of the late war.

I expect to have finished the business in this province before the month of May next when we shall go to Canada, and we hope to return to Great Britain by summer 1788, when it will give most sincere pleasure both to Lady Eleanor and me to hear of your good health and that your situation is comfortable.

Pray remember me to Ross and Haldane.

Be assured,

&c. &c.

Thomas Dundas.

Lord Dorchester to Lt. Gov. Carleton.

Quebec, 3d January, 1787.

Sir,—I received your letter No. 1 on the 25th ult., by which I learn that the Settlers on the upper part of the River St. John are alarmed by the menaces of the Indians in that District. The measures you have taken to enable the Settlers to defend themselves, I very much approve of. When I arrive at New Brunswick, I propose to review your Militia, and hope to find them so well armed and arrayed, as to give the province all reasonable security.

At the same time that You take proper measures, for the defence and security of the province, good policy requires, that the Indians should be treated with civility and kindness. You may at a cheaper rate secure their friendship, than repel their hostilities. Besides the policy of this conduct, common justice requires some attention and some compensation to these people, whose lands we come to occupy. This I fear, owing to their distance from Halifax, then the seat of Government, has not been fully observed.

I would recommend, that on every opportunity these Indians be benevolently treated, and occasionally sent home with presents for their families. But this should be more particularly practised, and the presents should be more considerable, before any new Concessions of land, so that they may be entirely satisfied with the transaction.

The Chiefs should also be encouraged to come in, and make their complaints, when any of their tribes receive ill treatment.

It has been reported, that a soldier shot one of them, and wounded a woman*. It is said also, that the malefactor has been hanged. If so, Justice has been satisfied, but the Indians should be assured of the fact. This is the more necessary, as one of those tribes has been executed here, not very long since, for a like crime.

I detained your Messenger till I was able to send a confidential Interpreter with him. Such a one now goes with compliments of condolence, and a promise of presents at a proper season to cover the dead. He is to invite some of their Chiefs to come to Quebec next summer, and open all their complaints. He also carries a message to the Acadians, who I hear have not only been driven off their lands, but other ways ill treated. To prevent a misfortune of the kind in future, a Grant should be made out for them in due form.

I understand the high land, which runs by the great rapids† on the River St. John, is the boundary, and separates Canada from New Brunswick and the New England Provinces. Therefore all who choose to settle west of that range of hills will become Canadians; those who remain to the East are of course New Brunswickers, and will deserve your protection.

In the meanwhile, and until the business is ripe for regular Grants,

*The soldiers here referred to were David Nelson and William Harboard, late of the Queen's Rangers. They were examined on Wednesday, the 24th of May, before Edward Winslow and Col. Isaac Allen, the shooting having occurred the previous Saturday. The trial took place before Chief Justice Ludlow (Judge Allen being also on the bench) on June 13, 1786; the prisoners were found guilty, and Nelson was hanged on June 23rd, while Harboard was pardoned. This was the first trial for murder on the St. John River. It is described in No. 59 of the Editor's Historic Articles published in the Woodstock Dispatch. Justice was speedy in those days. The Indian's name was Pierre Bonwah.

†The Grand Falls.

they can only have general assurances, that they shall have them as soon as regularity will permit, and this promise should remain inviolate.

I am with regard

Your most obedient servant,

Dorchester.

Lord Dorchester to Lieut. Gov. Carleton.

Quebec, 3d January, 1787.

Sir,—I inclose a plan for establishing a regular conveyance of Letters between Halifax and Quebec drawn up by the Deputy Postmaster General of this Province, which you will be pleased to take into consideration and report to me Your opinion thereon, for I consider a regular communication between the Kings' Provinces of public utility and therefore hope for your assistance in forming that arrangement. I am with respect,

Your most obedient humble servant,

Dorchester.

General Ruggles to Edward Winslow.

Mount Maudenit, Wilmot, April 29th, 1787.

Dear Sir,—At the time I wrote you on behalf of Elias Graves wishing to purchase 100 acres of land in Wilmot, he was considered as the most prudent, industrious person of his age in this part of the province. Before I received your answer he had got into a very unsteady way, neglecting his business and drinking excessively. I sent for him and told him if he did not reform his conduct and mind his business better I could not by any means advise you to complete the bargain, upon which he promised amendment and that he would go to clearing upon it as soon as the snow would allow of it; before that time he was raving distracted, was soon confined and remains confined under Dr. Lawrence's care. I thought if he would enter upon the land and make improvements, it might take away the pretence of your friend Morris' instituting a suit for escheating the Grant, if Graves never accomplished the purchase. But as the case now stands I am afraid you will lose the whole unless you can represent to Lord Dorchester the suffering of your Father's family and your own good services, in such a manner as to obtain his prohibition till other Grants, made years before yours, are escheated. I am told Mr. Aplin is rumageing up evidence in order to lay open the iniquitous conduct of administration ever since the peace took place. Perhaps he may find so much business for them to defend themselves as at least to damp their ardour for distressing one of the first families in New England, and who from generation to generation have done more public service in reality and from real principles of

Loyalty in one year of their lives, than all the junto of publick blood suckers in Halifax from the beginning of that settlement. * *

Believe me to be, dear Sir,

Your obed't servt.

Timothy Ruggles*.

Major Barclay to Edward Winslow.

Wilmot, 3d May, 1787.

You have a right, and I know you will deem me an inattentive fellow in not answering your letter of last autumn ere this; and perhaps you go a step farther and think me equally careless of your interest. In the first you are right. I plead guilty, and throw myself on the benevolence of your disposition for forgiveness. But with regard to your Wilmot Land, I have exerted myself to find a purchaser for the whole or any part; hitherto I have found no one able. Money is not to be had, and lands are solicited to be given away.

The plan I have adopted with my own land (which joins yours) if agreeable to you I will execute with yours. I have laid out the tract in three hundred and one hundred acre lots alternately. The one hundred lots I give away on certain conditions of Improvement. The others I reserve for myself. By this means the Escheat is prevented, and by having settlers on each side of your lots, your land is encreased to ten times its value. I make no doubt you will approve of the mode; if so send me a power of attorney. I have two very good men ready to go on; one with a family strong handed, the other a single man.

By this time I hope you are comfortably settled and find everything coincide with your wishes. I feel myself interested in your welfare and am not a little pleased in hearing from everyone how universal your good offices are to all Ranks of People; and how much you are beloved and respected. I am convinced you act from principle as well as Inclination, and therefore make no doubt but you will be satisfied with the approbation of your own conscience. If you expect a return from mankind in general, you will be disappointed. Gratitude is seldom an ingredient in the human composition.

My farm begins to look civilized and yield profit. This year I hope to raise more grain than any farmer in the country, and my meadows will furnish me with forty tons of Hay. Society is all we want, and on that account I often wish myself your neighbor.

The Colonel will move over the beginning of June. Our situation

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*Timothy Ruggles. See biographical note under letter of Edward Winslow to Dr. Jeffries in the year 1779.

will be then still more solitary. Present my best regards to Mrs. Winslow, you good mother and sister.

I am dear Winslow, with sincere affection

Ever yours, Tho. Barclay.

Lord Dorchester to Lieut. Gov. Carleton.

Quebec, 29th May, 1787.

Sir,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letters No 9 & 10.

You will be pleased to direct the Surveyor General of the Province of New Brunswick to be at the Great Falls on the River Saint John on the 15th of July next, where he will meet the Surveyor General of the Province of Quebec for the purpose of settling the boundaries between the two Provinces. This done it will be expedient to grant the lands at the different carrying places as soon as possible, that a road of communication may be established, and the proposed plan for a regular conveyance by Post once a month between Halifax and this place (since it has met with your approbation and that of Lieutenant Governor Parr) carried into execution without delay. I am convinced that many advantages will result therefrom immediately, though the carrying place between this and Fredericton must be tolerably settled before a complete security can be expected. I purpose to send Mr. Finlay in order to make the necessary arrangements with the Post-masters of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

The Military Express from Halifax, I understand has hitherto been a great discouragement to the Post office. As soon as the above mentioned conveyance shall have taken place this will no longer be necessary, except when dispatch or the importance of the letters may require a special messenger.

I am with regard,

Your most obedient

humble servant,

Dorchester.

Major Barclay to Edward Winslow.

Wilmot, 2d July, 1787.

My dear Winslow,—Your power of attorney inclosed in a very affectionate letter came safe. I shall therefore give possession to Two men of 300 acres. The conditions on which they settle are that they are to clear twelve acres to every hundred and that within six years. They are to clear at least ten acres per hundred every year and when their complement is made up, to have a Deed in fee simple.

I am not apt to be sanguine but I really think those mountain lands

will be valuable. You would be pleased to see the flourishing state of the settlement on what was called Pemberton's Grant in my rear. My Grant joins that, on which I have three settlers; Yours succeeds and has the advantage of having the Lands both East and West of it improved, with very tolerable access. You may rely on my taking the same care of your land as I do of my own*.

Could I transport my farm and my family at a wish I would soon be an inhabitant of York County. At the time Governor Carleton arrived my finances would not admit of the expense of removing and building, and the office held up to me was not sufficiently promising to risque the taking up money, I therefore reluctantly gave up the idea and hardly now entertain a hope of ever being an Inhabitant on your side the Bay.

Our situation is truly solitary, but I never can think of removing unless the prospect promises advantage to my family.

The Academy† you are setting on foot would be no small Inducement, as I fear my dear Boys will suffer greatly from this retirement. I am indebted to you for your kind offer. The Gentleman you propose as your Master (or President) is an intimate acquaintance and classmate of mine. A man of the strictest Honor and Integrity, possessed of every good and amiable quality, but neither of a shining genius or favorite of the Graces. In the Languages (unless he has improved himself since he left college) hardly tolerable. And I doubt whether he knows more of Mathematics, Geography, &c. &c., than either of us. You may however depend on his attention and his exertions. Pray let no one know of my opinion, I would not have it transpire for the world, nor would I wish to injure so worthy a man, and one for whom I have the greatest regard. I wish you had communicated your design at an earlier period; there is a Gentleman in New York (who I think it probable, Judge Ludlow has forgot) who for the above purpose is equal if not superior to any man in the world; he has kept school in New York many years and I scarce think the salary you offer would have been an inducement. No money however ought to have prevented your procuring him, for really I doubt whether he has an equal in any one branch of polite literature. In giving you the character of Mr. Alexanded Leslie‡ I would not speak thus positive on my own opinion solely, but I have repeatedly heard many men of the first abilities in New York (as Jay, Varda, and Livingston) speak of him as a

*Through the kindness of Col. Barclay these lands were preserved to the Winslow family, and sold for their benefit shortly after Colonel Winslow's decease.

†The Academy at Fredericton was the germ of the present University of New Brunswick.

‡Alexander Leslie was master of the Grammar School of Kings (Columbia) college in New York. He was was a Loyalist but remained in the country and continued to teach school at New York.

man of more real learning than any they knew. His character is respectable and while Usher to a large Grammar School I went to, I only recollect one fault in him, too mild a disposition; but keeping school for fifteen years has probably corrected that weakness. Whenever I send a boy of mine I would cheerfully add five pounds to the present expence to have him under Leslie.

If Mr. Harrison has not left the country ask him Mr. Leslie's character. I have freely given you my opinion from a sincere wish for the advancement of your Infant Seminary, and rely on it everything depends on the ability of your first Tutor.

Beverly* ere this is with you. A better man never existed. This is the first separation we have ever known from our earliest Infancy, and both Mrs. Barclay and myself feel the loss of him and my sister.

I hope you will give me a call in your way through; if not send me word beforehand and I will meet you on the Road. I have made my own road very tolerable this year.

Your appointment as Military Secretary affords me pleasure; it will give you an opportunity perhaps of getting something better in the civil line.

Remember me to all friends, Mrs. Winslow in particular. God bless you.

Ever most faithfully Yours

Tho. Barclay.

Mather Byles Jr. to Edward Winslow.

July 21,1787.

* * * The Town [St. John] is now pretty well cleared of the small pox and as Mrs. Winslow Sr. has been very unwell for some days past, Sally gives up the idea of going to Fredericton before the family moves. Miss Winslow is yet at the manor so that I cannot consult her.

Mrs. Cottnam is averse to Mary's having the small pox there if it can be avoided, but I suppose if she sees it necessary she can have no objection.

You have by this time heard of the arrival of Judge Sewell. He speaks of you with great affection and hopes you will make one of the Sanhedrim who are to decide upon the place of his future residence. The family dined with us yesterday and appear very happy in their removal from Bristol.

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Mather Byles Jr. to Edward Winslow.

Thursday Evening, 2d August, 1787.

My dear Sir,—I wrote you two days ago by Mr. Marston and transmitted the report of the Board on the abstract to the 24th June. None

*Beverley Robinson, jr., whose wife was a sister of Thos. Barclay.

of the accounts to be examined have been yet given in and if General Bruce is away three weeks, as he says at present he intends, it will be some time before the business is completed. I am sorry for Mr. Hazen as his operations with his mill* & collecting wood† on the new contract make an immediate supply of money absolutely necessary. * * *

I have a letter from my father in which he mentions having wrote you. I suppose the letter went by the last express and hope you will receive it safe.

I don't know whether you recollect the two Quaker gentlemen who were here last year as preachers from Philadelphia. In the course of their tour they visited Beaver Harbor‡ and observing the great poverty of the settlers, they on their return raised a subscription among the Quakers and with the produce of it purchased and shipped a donation of coarse flour and Indian meal with some other necessaries to be distributed among them. It has arrived safe and will probably save large numbers of them from starving. Of all the private actions that ever have fallen under my observation I recollect none so extensively benevolent so genuinely disinterested. To make use of an expression of your own, it puts one in mind of the times when Human Nature stood upon its legs.

* * As ever, Your very affectionate and faithful

Mather Byles.

Thomas Aston Coffin to Edward Winslow.

Quebec, 27 Aug, 1787.

My dear Ned,—I have received yours by Doctor Edwards, tho' I have not had the Pleasure of seeing him; the letter was sent but he has not come near me. Be assured I shall always be happy to shew attention to your Friends. * * * *

You say not a word of my Godson & namesake. I suspect the poor boy is a cripple before this. I saved his life two or three times at Granville. How many are added since I left, and what are their names. I

*The mill mentioned above was built about this time for grinding wheat and corn. It stood at the outlet of the old mill pond near the Union Depot at St. John. It was a tide mill and probably replaced an older mill built by Simonds and White about 1767. Ward Chipman had an interest in the mills built here.

He says in a letter to Thos. A. Coffin, written the 8th June, 1788, that the whole expense when completed would be about £2,000, which was owned at that time in the following proportions: Ward Chipman, 8-16; Jonathan Bliss, 2-16; Hazen and White, 6-16. The management of the mill was entrusted to William Hazen. There was a saw mill upon the same dam. Thos. A. Coffin became the purchaser of 1-4 interest in the mill. The millwright under whose supervision the mill was built was a Mr. Bedell, late of Staten Island—probably John Bedell, who afterwards went to Woodstock, N. B.

†William Hazen frequently contracted to supply the garrison with fire wood.

‡The parish of Pennfield in Charlotte County was settled by Pennsylvania Quakers, who were Loyalists.

should like much to have been of the party with Nat. I would have joined in the laugh with all my heart. We shall meet I hope one of these days but when is uncertain. Should you come this way in the course of the winter I still have a matrass and blanket for you.

When you see Judge Sewell remember me to him & family. To Major Hailes present my best wishes. Adieu & believe me my Dear Ned.

Most truly & affectionately

Yours,

Thos. Aston Coffin.

The Prince is here; has been rec'd in great pomp. Balls, Dinners, Suppers, Fireworks, &c, take up our whole attention.

Major Gilfred Studholme to Edward Winslow.

Sept., 1787.

Dear Colonel,—In my last hurried letter I forgot making my acknowledgements for your kind promise of paying me a visit in the course of the season. Should any Great People propose coming in your train, pray drop me a hint in time as you must suppose a Farm-house will require considerable scrubbing, before it will be fit to receive such guests.

If I could possibly hit at the time you will visit St. John's in the course of your reviews, I propose, if my Health will admit, to meet you there to make my bow on the Governor's new appointments, and to return thanks for the station allotted me in your Militia; an honor I should not have indulged myself in, if I had not a very elevated opinion of the Person from whom I received it; I think you'll not be surprised at this declaration or my being cautious how I again put myself in the power of the Great, when you recollect the vile usage I received from a certain Chief,* but God forbid you should suppose I ever drew a comparison between the two Characters, except to contrast the Virtues and propriety of the one against the Vices and irregularities of the other.

We are very busy just now in pulling the male Hemp, and preparing

*The reference is to Chief Justice Finucane's investigation of Studholme's administration of affairs connected with the settlement of the Loyalists. A remonstrance had been forwarded, early in 1784, to Gov. Parr by some of the dissatisfied among the Loyalists, and Chief Justice Finucane was sent to enquire into the matter. This did not satisfy the discontented. Another complaint was made to the governor, specifying particularly their grievances. Upon which the agents of the Loyalists voluntarily repaired to Halifax and submitted themselves to trial before Gov. Parr, Lieut. Geo. Fanning and the council, Chief Justice Finucane being present. After a public hearing of two days, the following was the decision:—"The council are of opinion that Gilfred Studholme, William "Tyng, George Leonard, John Coffin and James Peters, magistrates and agents "on the river, having acquitted themselves in their conduct with fairness, im-"partially and propriety.

"RICHARD BULKELEY, Secretary.

"Halifax, 3rd August, 1784."

to water-rott it, an operation I shall pay much attention to and inform you in due time of my success in this important business.

I remain most truly yours,

G. Studholme.

Benjamin Marston to Edward Winslow.

New York, Sep'r 8, 1787.

Dear Ned,—I arrived here about ten days ago after a passage of Fourteen days, a very pleasant one. Finding the ship an exceedingly good one, the master and his officers very clever fellows and a good ship's compass, I have kept by her and shall take my passage home in her.* She is now almost loaded and will sail in about ten days. I might have taken a passage sooner in an English Packett who sailed ten days ago, but the saving ten, fifteen, or more guineas just now is an object, and my getting home a fortnight or three weeks sooner is none at all.

After I left you I did not know but I should have been forced to give up the matter of going home altogether from the impracticability I found to raise money sufficient for the expence. In short I had once abandoned it, finding no one who had money to purchase bills or to let; till it came into my head that possibly I might sell my bills in this place could I get them endorsed by some person known here. Our friend Chippy relieved me from all my perplexities by his endorsement, I sold them at 6 pr. ct. premium for hard money and afterwards exchanged it, it being foreign coin, for heavy English Guineas at 2 1-4 pr. ct. discount so that upon the whole I got about 3 pr. ct. premium for my bills—heavy Guineas being now rated at 37s. 10d. currency. So far I think we have got on exceedingly clever, considering the many obstacles that lay in our way, having yet done nothing to a loss.

Pray write me by some opportunity that will reach me about Christmas and let me have (besides how both Families and my particular friends do) every information of your publick matters that may be useful for me to know. If no opportunity should offer from St. John, don't neglect by the way of Hlfx. or N. York you must direct to the care of Mr. Rashleigh or Wm. Coffin.

I forgot in the state of the Trade of this City to inform you that there is not one single ship on the stocks in the whole Town. Poor Divels!—tho' they richly merit every evil they yet feel and will feel, for they have many more to come yet, I can't help commiserating them a little.

Remember me very kindly to Mrs. Winslow and all friends with you. Adieu and God bless you is the fervent wish of your

Ben. Marston.

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*Benjamin Marston was now about starting for England to prosecute his claim for compensation for losses in consequence of the Revolution. He anticipated a considerable sum, as he had abandoned a large business and his real estate had been confiscated. He was disappointed in his expectations.

Hugh Finlay* to Thomas Aston Coffin.

Quebec, 11th October, 1787.

Dear Sir,—Last evening I received your note with Colonel Winslow's letter concerning Isaac Hutchinson, a person willing to settle with his family on the portage at the Great Fall of St. John's River.

In my late report to His Excellency the Governor General I noted "That if some person were settled on that spot, who would keep proper stores for supplying travellers, it would render journeying on that route much more comfortable than it is at present."

I think it is exceedingly lucky for the public that a man of so good a character has undertaken to sit down on that portage with his family. It will be of great convenience to the Couriers, and will contribute to their ease and speed. I presume Gwinn will inform me of the prospects he laid open to Hutchinson to induce him to fix himself on that spot. It will give me pleasure if hereafter it may be in my power to be of service to a man so well recommended by Mr. Winslow. I am with regard, Dear Sir, Sincerely yours,

Hugh Finlay.

Sarah Winslow to Ward Chipman.

October, 1787, Fredericton, Friday night.

My mother, Pen, and myself have at last reached this place. When the vessel will get up Heaven only knows. We left it four days ago, and are now more than half dead; mother is the best off. She has gone on to the Colonel's [Edward Winslow's]; Pen and myself are at Colonel Murray's. I am so ill with a violent cold cannot hold my head up. * * *

John Rapaljet to George Leonard.

Brooklyne, October 29, 1787.

Dear Sir,—I have taken the liberty at the desire of my Father of sending to your care, a Negro Wench named Eve and her child named

*Hugh Finlay was deputy postmaster general of British America. He died at Quebec, Dec. 26, 1801. He was the senior member of council of Lower Canada. The following eulogy appeared in one of the newspapers at the time of his death: "As a parent, friend and loyal subject he ranked with the first in society "and his faithful and meritorious services in this province (Quebec) for up- "wards of 41 years stand sufficiently recorded to render further comment un- "necessary."

†John Rapalje, of Brooklyn, N. Y., was the son of the elder John Rapalje, an active Loyalist, who was apprehended by order of Washington and transported to Connecticut in August, 1776. He was allowed to return to Long Island on parole. Cupidity on the part of his enemies led them to confiscate his estate, estimated at £40,000 in value, by "Act of Attainder" passed October 22, 1779.

Suke, in order to dispose of them to the best advantage. He would not have given this trouble had it not been from his attainder precluding him availing himself of the right he had in them here, but on their voluntarily going to Nova Scotia he thinks himself justifiable in selling her there. She is an excellent hand at all sorts of house work except Cooking, and one of the best Servants for washing, we ever had; she is perfectly honest & sober, and the only fault she has, is her being near sighted; Mr. Francis Pemart & his Daughter Mrs. Stoothoff, Mr. Thomas Horsfield* and Family, and Mr. John Guest, know the wench well and can prove the Property.

Enclosed is a power of attorney witnessed by Capt. Mathew of the Schooner Hawk & Mr. Read the owner.

Mama joins with me in presenting our most respectful compliments to Mrs. Leonard and the Family.

From your Humble Servant,

John Rapalje.

George Leonard, Esqr.,
Parr, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia.†

Remarks of Edward Winslow Respecting the Province of New Brunswick.

At the close of the American War, in 1783, the British American or provincial Regiments, which had served with British pay and local rank during the contest, were disbanded. The Officers and men were principally composed of refugees—or persons who had abandoned their homes and from attachment to the British Government had joined the Army. These men having rendered themselves peculiarly obnoxious to their countrymen could not return to their former situations, indeed their property had by formal Acts of the American Congress been confiscated and themselves proscribed. It therefore became necessary that Government should provide a place where they would be secure from insults and indignities and be able to provide subsistence for their families. The Commander in Chief, Sir Guy Carleton, with great humanity gave directions to those refugees who had not served in a military capacity to chuse Agents for themselves, and he sent them to Nova Scotia and Canada to explore the country and to locate lands for such as chose to cultivate, and to fix on situations for those who were engaged in the various branches of commerce and the tradesmen who were connected therewith.

*Thomas Horsfield was a well to do Brooklyn merchant. He came to St. John at the peace in 1783 and was first warden at Trinity church, in which a tablet was afterwards erected in his memory. This tablet was destroyed in the great fire of 1877 and no effort made to replace it in the new church.

†This truly is a curious address, in view of the fact that the Town of Parr had been nearly two and a half years nonexistent and that New Brunswick had ceased to be an appendage of Nova Scotia for a still longer period.

Sir Guy also ordered Col. Winslow, who acted as Muster-Master-General during the war, to proceed to the province of Nova Scotia and to explore and take up a tract of land sufficient to accommodate all the Officers and men of the provincial Regiments. Winslow assisted by Lt. Col. Stephen DeLancey and others, executed that duty and fixed on the river St. John as the only place where there was a tract of vacant land sufficiently extensive for this purpose; and in the fall of the year, so late as October, there had been between 14 & 15,000 of these unfortunate people landed in this inhospitable climate without a roof to cover 'em. Thus commenced the settlement of New Brunswick.

By Winslow's persevering solicitations at Halifax he obtained authority to lay out Blocks of land for the several Corps, and they were immediately put in possession. These Blocks commenced at Fredericton and extended 70 miles up, to the head of the present settlements a little below Presque Isle.

The following year His Majesty was pleased (in consequence of representations made) to erect into a separate Government that part of the then Province of Nova Scotia which lies on the west side of the great Bay of Fundy and extended from the St. Croix (which emptys into Passamaquoddy Bay) to the narrowest part of the Isthmus between the Bay of Fundy and Bay of Verte, and embracing all the interior country to the Canada line. Thomas Carleton, Esq'r, was appointed Governor of the new Province under the name of New Brunswick. Twelve Councillors were also appointed by commission from the King, and a Chief Justice and three puisne Judges and such other public officers as were necessary for the distribution of lands and the organization of a civil Government.

St. John's, being at that time the principal maritime port and the only compact settlement in the Province, the Governor thought it expedient to open the courts there and when a General Assembly was called he met it at that place. But when an opportunity afterwards offered to explore the country more carefully, the Governor and his Council were fully satisfied that it would impede the settlement to fix the seat of Government at an extreme point of the province. They therefore established it at the Head of the navigation of the River St. John, 80 miles from where it entered the Bay of Fundy. This place, now called Fredericton, is nearly in * * * [Remainder wanting.]

Sarah Winslow to Ward Chipman.

[Fredericton] January 8, 1788.

I am truly thankfull my good Friend to hear you, Mrs. Chipman & little Chip are well and from my very heart and soul rejoice that we have

a prospect in February of the pleasure of seeing you. Shall with great impatience wish for the month, and hope you will remember something is due to Friendship and come determined to spend as much time with us as you possibly can. Our little room is very comfortable, entirely at your service to do business in, will give you a good bed & the man Ceaser is well enough to be altogether devoted to you. Wish to Heaven Mrs. Chipman could come but that I dare not hope for; have already too many disappointments. I wish sincerely to see you both and your little one; have much to say to you, which shall adjourn until I see you for I might as well write in bedlam as where I now am. At this moment there is in the room with me Mrs. Miller, her two little girls, Mrs. Winslow & Debby Murray all in very good spirits & Pen Winslow noisy as Satan wanting to dictate my letter to you; she is too bad to say anything about her, do make haste and tame her. Mine and my Mother's love in abundance to you all, and to Mr. Hazen's family.

If you have any newspapers or magazines you can spare Do favour me with them. I am very desirous to see something new, have nothing to read, and want to be amused as I am not going to the birth night* and have not the employment every body else has of preparing for it. I shall also write a line to Mr. Parker to beg some, any bundle directed to Mr. Clopper for me will come free of expence.

I had a letter from Canada yesterday, which our friend T. A. Coffin forwarded, but the shabby fellow did not write a line. Isaac Coffin is in fine health & spirits there having drawn up his ship in a safe place for the winter. The weather there is as it is here better than ever was known before.

Lord Dorchester to Lieut. Gov. Carleton.

Quebec 9 January, 1788.

Sir,—In my letter of the 25th June last I requested you to consult with proper persons within the province under your Government, and collect the best information you might be able to procure, whether by any reasonable encouragement Hemp could be cultivated to advantage therein and imported from thence into Great Britain, and that you would be pleased to communicate to me all the information you might receive on the subject.

The encouragement of the cultivation of Hemp in the King's Provinces is an object which the Government at home have much at heart, and upon which I shall be very glad to receive from you the communications required, together with your opinion what bounty or other encour-

*Queen Charlotte was born May 19, 1744, but her birthday was for some years celebrated on the 18th of January.

agement might be necessary to give in order to promote the exportation of Hemp to Great Britain, and at what price it might most likely be imported into that country, including freight and every other charge. I also wish to be enabled to form some idea of the quantity which might be imported in a certain number of years.

I am with regard,
Your most obedient
humble Servant,
Dorchester.

Lord Dorchester to Lieut. Gov. Carleton.

Quebec, 9 January, 1788.

Sir,—The King having been pleased to erect the Province of Nova Scotia into a Bishop's see, and by Commission under the Great Seal to appoint the Right Reverend Father in God, Doctor Charles Inglis to be Bishop of the said Province of Nova Scotia, with ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the Province of Quebec and New Brunswick and in the Island of Newfoundland, I am to notify the same to you and to recommend him to your countenance and protection, not doubting but you will give him your hearty assistance in all things which may tend to promote piety and good morals, as well as the introduction of useful knowledge in the province under your government.

I am with regard,
Your most obedient
humble servant,
Dorchester.

Lieut. Arthur Nicholson* to Edward Winslow.

Queensborough, 26th January, 1788.

Dear Sir,—I hope you will excuse the liberty I take in troubling you with my business when I assure you that nothing but the critical situation which I find myself in, and your being so well acquainted with the nature of my first settling in this Country could induce me to it. I have made

*Lieut. Arthur Nicholson was a native of Sligo in the County of Leitrim in Ireland. At the commencement of the American Revolution he was a cornet in the 7th Light Dragoons and adjutant of the corps. He was at the battle of Bunker Hill and afterwards saw service in the vicinity of New York. When the King's American Dragoons were organized by Col. Benjamin Thompson in 1781, Cornet Nicholson was transferred to that corps as adjutant. He came to New Brunswick at the peace in 1783. He held a commission in the King's New Brunswick Regiment and in 1797 commanded the garrison at Presquile. He was "a rolling stone"—at one time we find him in Queensbury, in 1805 he was teaching school in Northampton and in 1809 he taught at Presquile. He was twice married and left descendants in the Province. The wife of the late Sir Wm. Johnstone Ritchie, chief justice of the supreme court of Canada was his grand daughter.

every exertion in my power to make a living by farming but I find it will not do. I find that unless a man does all his business with his own hands he cannot live by it. I have an idea that if the circumstance of my being in the Army twenty four years (and always employed in active line) was explained to His Excellency he, perhaps, would take it into consideration, and employ me in some business wherein I could be of service, not only to myself and family, but to the Country whose welfare I have warmly at heart. I am informed that my name has been mentioned to the Governor to do the duty of Adjutant to the Militia of this County, which I am willing to do with pleasure. Is it not probable that it is in His Excellency's power to employ me further in the business of the Militia? I don't care how much duty he gives me to do. Now Sir, as you always expressed a wish to serve me, and as I never wanted a friend more than at this present and I don't know that I have another friend in the Country in whose power it is to do anything to serve me, I beg leave to entreat you will at this time befriend me in representing not only what I have pointed out, but anything else you may see fit.

I am Dr. Sir, with much respect and esteem,
Your obedient Humble Servant,
——— Arth'r Nicholson.

Progress of New Brunswick* [1788.]

The progress of the province of New Brunswick, situated on the North side of the Bay of Fundy in North America, is a subject of no small degree of Curiosity.

The rapid advancement of the Province in population, Trade, Navigation and Internal Improvements since the year 1784, when it was separated from Nova Scotia, is a Subject so extraordinary and at the same time so little understood in England, that I cannot but suppose the Information of an Inhabitant of that Province, who has had very good opportunities both for enquiry and Observation, will not be unacceptable.

Among the events which are to be esteemed highly fortunate for the province is the appointment of Governor Carleton, Brother of Lord Dorchester's, to the Chief Command, a man who has shown a generous Contempt of his own private wealth and an exact frugality in the managing that which belongs to the public. Such is the happiness of those Loyalists over whom Governor Carleton presides, that if the choice of a person to conduct them in their public Councils was left to themselves their Election would undoubtedly fall upon that Gentleman. He is admired by them for his Integrity, firmness, and benevolence. It is with great pleasure I can add that the other Officers of Government are in general Men of Superior Genius and Character, and are justly disposed in places and

*There is nothing in the original manuscript to indicate the author of this sketch.

Offices of Trust and Honor for which they are well qualified. When we look back to the origin of this new province, and trace it to a short period of only four years we find it rapidly arriving into use and consequence to Great Britain. The public Academies and private Schools establishing in that province with a view of Civilizing the Indian natives and thereby making them usefull inhabitants, as well also for keeping their own youth from going into the neighboring States of America for their education and imbibing the disloyal principles of that country.

Much credit is to be given to the Honor of this nation which has been carried to a height almost unequalled in dealing out Clothing and provisions to the new settlements, and in securing to them the legal Administration of Justice. This has added a fresh spur to their industry and they are become the most happy people in the New World. And while, under the fostering hand of Governor Carleton, the whole body on any emergency may be called into the field against their envious neighbors the American States.

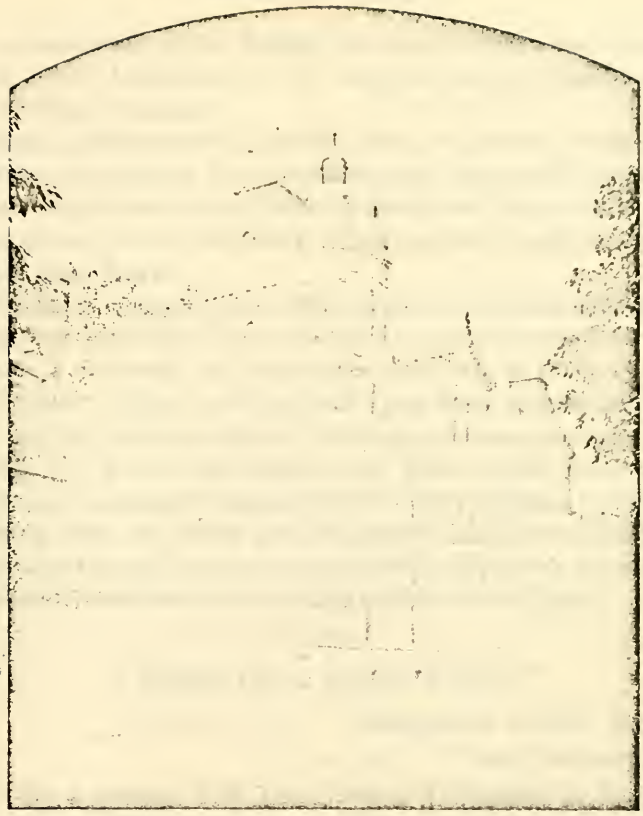
The City of St. John, at the entrance of a River of that name in this New Province is governed by a Mayor, Recorder, six Aldermen and twelve Council Men, Consists in near 2,000 Houses, many of which are large and spacious, being now one of the best cities in the new world.

No place in the Kings Colonies possesses equal advantages with this for becoming a place of general Trade; the River extending much farther into the Country than any other in that quarter excepting the River St. Lawrence.

The seat of Government is seventy five miles up that River from the City of St. John, where the Governor and Civil Officers reside at Fredericton, and the Banks of the River settled seventy miles beyond. Very good masts for the Royal Navy are Cut at the distance of ninety miles from the sea as large as thirty two inches diameter, which are collected by persons, appointed by Government below the falls, from whence they are shipped off for the King's dock yards in England.

The quantity of Cattle and Grain raised will certainly be great, both for home consumption and exportation, at present many Farmers having from sixty to one hundred head, besides raising from five hundred to one thousand Bushels of Wheat.

This Province has become of so much Consequence to Great Britain and increasing daily in its magnitude that no time ought to be lost in Establishing the Boundary line between the States of America. There remain yet undecided which of the three branches was formerly called St. Croix, and the head. The Americans claim the Town of St. Andrews, built since the Peace by the Loyalists, consisting of six hundred Houses, together with many valuable Islands in the Bay of Passamaquoddy, which



NEW PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS, FREDERICTON.

OLD PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS, FREDERICTON.

by the express words of the Treaty are clearly within the limits of New Brunswick. The Inhabitants of St. Andrews and its vicinity amount to upwards of three thousand.

If these Loyalists should fall with their properties within the Limits of the States of America, it is necessary that they should know it before any further improvements are made by them, as I believe not one family would remain subjects to the States, being perfectly happy under the Government of Great Britain.

It is the more necessary that this enquiry be immediately made while the Indians are alive that have been called up to Boston to give their evidence, which is to remain on the records there, which River was anciently called St. Croix. They have declared upon their return that they were bribed to say the Easternmost River. And it is the more necessary while the old English and French Inhabitants who have resided there upwards of Forty years, can personally attend and give their evidence to the Contrary. I have lately been there and have examined the Rivers Islands &c., and conversed with the old Inhabitants and Indians; there can remain no doubt but the boundry we claim is just and agreeable to the Treaty.

Samuel Lee to Edward Winslow.

Ristigouche, Chaleur Bay,

14th February, 1788.

Sir,—By a person, Abel Davis, whom I dispatch to Fredericton to bring the Grant of Land given me last November, I have an opportunity of writing to you. * * * I have wrote to the Surveyor General requesting him to send Mr. Millidge to lay out the Lands here as was proposed by him last Fall. I would wish him to come very early in the summer. I have transmitted to Capt. Sproule the names of 16 or 18 persons who wish to take Lands and settle on the South side of this River and go on them in the Spring, begging he would be so good as to lay the same before the Governor & Council, that allotments may be given them before Mr. Millidge is dispatched—in order that the Lands may be surveyed by him while here, as this will greatly forward the settlement of this River, which I have much at heart. I must solicit your kind attention to it also, which will lay me under much obligation.

I shall be very happy at any time to hear from you; and if you have any new intelligence respecting a War, please communicate it to me by return of this Express.

I have the honor to be, Sir, most respectfully,

Your very Humble Serv't,

Sam'l Lee.

Lord Dorchester to Lieut. Gov. Carleton.

Quebec, 3d March, 1788.

Sir,—The State correspondence between the King's ministers and the governors and commanding officers of the troops in his American provinces being the primary object of the new post between Halifax and Quebec by the way of Fredericton, at the same time that it is and will in future still more be a matter of great general utility, every encouragement ought to be given to the institution. You will therefore be pleased to countenance and protect the same throughout the district of your command and cause all public letters to be forwarded through that channel, except in cases of emergency. * * *

Mr. Finlay, who, I am just informed by His Majesty's Post Master General, will shortly be appointed Superintendent of the Post Offices throughout the King's American possessions, and to whom I am desired by their Lordships to give the full support of my authority, will give the necessary directions to the Deputy Postmasters General of the several Provinces, who, their Lordships signify to me, shall be ordered to pay him implicit obedience. I therefore recommend Mr. Finlay to your countenance and support in the execution of his duty, and request that you will be pleased to notify his authority to the Deputy Post Masters in your government.

I am with regard,

Your most obedient

humble servant,

Dorchester.

Edward Winslow to Ephraim Spooner.

Kingsclear, New Brunswick, 19th April, 1788.

Dear Spooner,— * * * There was in the town of Duxborough in the neighborhood of Captain's Hill, two vestal virgins by the name of Seabury, who used to bring (under their black velvet cloaks) some of the most delicate white cotton and linnen cloth that ever was manufactured in any country. I suppose that those ladies are ere this, translated to a land of purity & peace (as they deserve to be) but 'tis possible that some other females may be found of equal industry & ingenuity. If there are such they must be known to Mrs. Spooner; I therefore request that you or she will procure for me (if practicable) about thirty yards of that cloth ready whitened, and send it under the particular care of Capt. Leavitt, who sails between this and Boston, & I shall pay the expence thankfully. I wrote you a few weeks ago to the care of a Mr. Reed of Boston, inclosing a letter to my friend Nathan Thomas. I am extremely anxious to hear from him. He promised that (if any accident prevented

him from coming to New Brunswick this Spring) he wou'd send me a good faithful man. Relying on his word I have refus'd hiring an Overseer, altho' several have offered. For fear my letter may have miscarried, I will repeat my request, that you will have the goodness to urge him to repair here as soon as posssible, or to send me a person in whom I can place confidence. The public business in which I am engaged obliges me to be often absent, & unless I have some such Man as Thomas I must suffer very great inconveniences.

Mrs. Winslow & myself are also very solicitous to procure from your country an orderly discreet Woman, & we express'd our anxiety on this subject to Thomas who say'd he wou'd exert himself to engage such an one. I think if Mrs. Spooner could see my pretty little Flock of children it would be an additional inducement to her to assist me in this important object. Possibly there may be within her knowledge some unfortunate Widow, who wishes to change her ground, who is capable of teaching children to read, &c., and of superintending the affairs of a family. I would endeavor to render the life of a Woman of that character comfortable. I would give very handsome wages, & I would willingly pay all the expenses of her coming to me. Thomas can tell you that my habitation is a good one and that my apartments for a House-keeper & my children are warm & convenient. A passage here in the summer is neither dangerous or disagreeable, & Leavitt* would be particularly attentive to any person coming to me. Mrs. Spooner may venture to say—That my situation is not a solitude, but that I am in the midst of as chearful a society as any in the world. She may add that we are not (as some lively imaginations have represented us) in the least danger of starving, freezing, or being blown into the Bay of Fundy. I believe Thomas will be ready to swear to all this, if need be. Mrs. Spooner may therefore quiet the apprehensions of any good Woman who may suppose that we are (like our Forefathers) in a howling wilderness surrounded by savages, Bears & Tygers. She may add another circumstance which is that my Wife is a very good Woman, & that I'm ready to swear to at any time. From what I have said Mrs. Spooner will know what sort of a Woman I want—& she will render an essential service to my Family if she can be instrumental in procuring one for me.

I have not seen Gid. White since his return. When I do I shall tire him with questions. I thank you for your mentioning of my Aunt White's Family & my cousins the Howlands. It ever gives me the most lively satisfaction to hear from them. God knows my Heart that my affection for them is sincere and unabated. I hardly dare enquire about the Miss

*The brothers Jonathan and Daniel Leavitt both sailed between Boston and St. John. Some account of them will be found in the "Portland Point" series of historical articles in the New Brunswick Magazine.

Cobb's. I heard (with great concern) that Sally was dangerously ill. If they are alive let me be remembered kindly to them. My mother & sisters & Col. Miller & his wife most pointedly direct me to present their best regards to you and Mrs. Spooner. My mother is as well as ever she was in her life. I have so many old acquaintances among you that I cannot particularly mention them. I wish them all well & would be hpapy to see 'em again.

I am very sincerely
Your Friend

Ed. Winslow.

Thomas Aston Coffin to Edward Winslow.

[Quebec], 12th July, 1788.

My dear Ned,— * * * It would have gratified me much to have met old Gregorious* with you.I however live in hopes of a hearty laugh with my New Brunswick friends one of these days. I anticipate a meeting with great pleasure. By jove I would not give half an hour such as we have spent for the twenty months I have been in Canada.† A continual and eternal round of business engrosses every moment of my time. Give my sincere love and regard to Polly and the Bairns, remember me also most affectionately to mother & the girls. Adieu & believe me

Most unfeignedly yours forever

T. A. Coffin.

Rev. Samuel Peters, ‡ D. D., to George Leonard.

Grosvenor Place, Sept. 6, 1788.

Dear Sir,—I was unfortunately from home when you called at my House previous to your departure from this Capital [London]. I had a Bundle for you of Sermons of the Rev'd George Gillmore, which I hope will reach you with this, and as a Mason & as a Native of New England I believe the sentiments of the sermon will not fail to please you—altho' he is a Shunamite, a Nazarite & Presbyterian, which some think to be a

*Gregory Townsend.

†Thos. A. Coffin came out to Quebec with Sir Guy Carleton (Lord Dorchester) when the latter came out as governor general in 1786.

‡Dr. Samuel Peters was born at Hebron, Connecticut, in 1735, and graduated at Yale in 1757. He had charge of the Episcopal church in Hartford, but was obliged to leave it in consequence of the persecutions of which he was a victim on account of his loyalty to the king. He was an eccentric and singular character. He is generally conceded to have been the author of an anonymous work on Connecticut history, giving an account of the celebrated "Blue laws of Connecticut." The book is cleverly written but is more of a caricature than a true history of the times. Rev. Dr. Peters was ambitious to be chosen as the first bishop of Nova Scotia and some curious correspondence with the Rev. Jacob Bailey on the subject is yet extant. He was thrice married. He died in New York in April, 1826, in his 91st year. He was a man of generous impulses.

miracle in nature. Loyalty has clothed him in sheep skins and with goat skins, and left him in the Pitt, destitute of all things but £40 per ann. during pleasure of a People given to change—therefore I beg you to remember him and his household and fix him a missionary at Ardoise Hill; but if that cannot be admitted, I have advised him to move into New Brunswick & leave Egypt, provided your Honorable Board* shall see fit to appoint him their missioner with a decent support, which I hope will be not less than £50. per annum.

You know the Reasons why I have interested myself in behalf of a Presbyterian (not a Puritan, such as I was born) and I need say no more on that Head.

I cannot bear dunning, owing, or conquest, and as sundry great men have been striving against the Shunamite merely because he is not an Episcopalian, I hope you will gratify me in my wishes—for I am not so high a Churchman as to starve a Dissenter from my opinions (which may be as full of errors as his) because I remember one Sawyer, who cruelly whipped Abemileck, son of the King of Mohegan, "only because he was an Indian"—which I viewed to be unjust and shall never forget it. I was then a small boy & Abemileck my school fellow.

Mr. Gillmore carries this letter & I trust you will not have the pleasure of adding to the King's Revenue on receiving it, if you do I beg you to revenge on me in the same way.

I heard of your Bowsprit falling overboard & of your return to Dover. I hope you have now arrived safe & met your Family in Health & Happiness. I remain with esteem, Sir,

Your faithful

Samuel Peters.

P. S. I am sorry for poor Capt. Camp, a man who has merit without reward; however eternity cures every wound—& then his loyalty & Conscience will be rewarded, because God is just and sees not as man seeth. In this world the Righteous have tribulation, but when they put on the Glorious mind, sorrows part forever with time.

Sir John Wentworth to Edward Winslow.

Miramichi, Oct'r 15th, 1788.

My dear Sir,—I am this moment getting under way for Spanish River† & thence (Deo volente) for Halifax. I have found on this river the best

*The reference is to the board of commissioners of the "New England Co." for propagating the gospel among the Indians, of which board George Leonard was an active member. The society was quite distinct from the well known S. P. G.

†Spanish river is now known as Sydney in Cape Breton. At this time Sir John Wentworth was on a tour of inspection as surveyor of the King's woods.

mast timber in British America—great quantitys of which are on the Reservations, which are inestimable to Great Britain. I think the pine timber for size, length and soundness exceeds any I ever saw in New England, and there are enough of them.

Permit me to recommend my friend Mr. Fraser* a Merch't of this place, to your friendly attention—you will find him deserving of any favor you may confer on him, which shall be gratefully acknowledged as done personally to, my Dear Sir,

Your sincere friend,

J. Wentworth.

Captain John Munro to Edward Winslow.

[Rec'd Oct. 1788.]

Dear Sir,—Upon Col. Small's arrival in London he was pleased to inform me that you was so obliging as to take charge of my patent for the Lands that was granted to me upon the river St. Johns in the Province of New Brunswick; I cannot sufficiently thank you for your kindness in taking this trouble. I know by the Tenor of the patent I was to make Improvements on said Lands by this Time, but having been in England, prosecuting my claim before the Commissioners these two years has prevented me from making the necessary Improvements upon said Lands. I am very sorry to inform you, that this is all the property I have, the Commissioners no doubt having considered my other property within the limits of what is called Vermont Claims, who have not confiscated any part of the Loyalists Lands in that State; by this means I am deprived of my Compensation for my losses, excepting the small part which lay without that state, and will not hardly bear the expense I have been at in coming Home. Under these considerations I hope the Governor and Council of that province† will suffer no advantage to be taken of my Delinquency in making the Improvements required. Should you find any danger in this I must beg that you

*James Fraser was a very prominent man at Miramichi. He represented the county of Northumberland in the house of assembly from 1795 to 1819. He removed to Halifax while still retaining his business connections at Miramichi, and became a member of the council of Nova Scotia. See references to him in Cooney's History of N. B., at pages 48, 49.

†The grant to Capt. John Munro is dated September 6, 1784. It comprised 4,000 acres at the mouth of Medoctec creek—now called Hayes creek—four miles above Eel river. The grant was made "on account of losses sustained in the "late Rebellion, and in consideration of public services performed by him in "this province." The same tract, curious to say, falls within the boundaries of the grant to DeLancey's first battalion, made only a few weeks afterwards: what makes the matter still more remarkable is that the old Meductic fort and village stood on the same property and the Indians claimed the place as their heritage by natural right and defied the whites to take possession. Captain Munro had already forfeited his title by making no improvements. The lands were squatted upon by Peter Watson and others and a title acquired afterwards from government, which provided an Indian location near the parish church, a few miles above.

will be so good as to interest yourself in my Favor & to represent to the Governor & Council my losses and Disappointments in consequence of the part I have taken in the cause of Government; and should you find that there is any danger in my being deprived of the Lands you will in that case give Liberty to any persons to settle on said Lands and to take up Four hundred acres on the south side of said Tract, so as to extend back into the Woods the whole length of the patent; or should any person be inclined to erect saw mills upon the Creek which runs through the said patent called Medotick* Creek, you will be pleased to give them liberty for and during a space of seven years; as also the liberty of cutting saw logs and other timber that may be found upon said lot. Those that will undertake to settle upon said Land are to have a Deed, or Deeds, to have and to hold the same in Fee Simple on the same terms as the patent is granted to me. In order to enable you to fulfil those agreements I have taken the liberty of inclosing you a power of Attorney for that purpose.

I shall take it as a particular favour if you will be so obliging as to write me your opinion &c., of what further may be necessary in securing the Lands. Had I been able it was my intention to carry Iron works and other necessaries from this place to settle and build mills at Midotick but my circumstances now will not permit me. Please direct your letter to me at Montreal, Canada. Colo. Small, and many others of the Gentlemen here are in the same predicament with myself, with respects to their Lands in the State of Vermont.

I shall be happy to hear that your province may thrive. From the knowledge I have of that country, I flatter myself that in a few years it will become a flourishing Country.

Wishing you all manner of happiness, I remain.

Dr. Sir, Your most obedient, and very humble Servant

John Munro†

N. B. Whatever expences you will be at with respect to the above I will with the greatest Pleasure satisfy.

[Note. Captain Munro writes an excellent hand.]

*Meductic creek derived its name from the Indian fort and village adjoining (possibly the village may, on the other hand, have derived its name from the stream.) On the old French maps the name "Medoctec" is generally applied to Eel river. Medoctec, or Hayes, creek is noted for the beautiful fall 90 feet perpendicular—higher than the Grand Falls and only surpassed in the province, so far as is known to the writer of this note, by Fall brook on the S. W. Miramichi above Boiestown, which has a fall of 120 feet.

†John Munro was a Vermont Loyalist and held a commission as captain in the King's Royal American Regiment of New York, a Loyalist corps raised by the celebrated Sir John Johnson and commonly called the "Royal Greens." He claimed to have abandoned property in New York valued at £14,231, besides 6,000 acres of land in Vermont. Many of the officers and men of the "Royal Greens," with their families, numbering in all 1782 souls, were settled on the river St. Lawrence west of Montreal. Captain Munro's well known report of the state of settlement, etc., on the St. John river in 1783, is printed in the Canadian Archives for 1891.

Henry Nase to Edward Winslow.

Kings County, 8th Novr. 1788.

My dear Colonel,—Ten thousand thanks for your kind congratulations; and allow me to coincide with you in Opinion, tho' but so short a time married, that among the comfortable things in this world, a good wife ought to stand foremost. The Papers relative to the Oak Point* business I shall immediately forward to Mr. Sewell. The half Fees I have settled with him agreeable to the inclosed amount. I must take the liberty now of asking you in what manner I am to proceed with respect to the Administration Bonds,† I allow six months for filling an Inventory and twelve months for rendering Accounts. The estate of poor Cosby Hunt‡ amounts to £35—and the debts brought against it to £350, as I am told. The Administratrix of which is continually boring me for Duplicates of the letters of Administration, Inventory, &c, for all which she pays liberally in Malevolence, Scandal and abuse. That indeed is trifling, but the time for rendering an account of that estate expired the 3d Feby '88, yet I have not been able to procure it, tho' I have made frequent demands in the most formal manner. I will thank you to give me your advice when most convenient on the business. The character alluded to I don't wish to injure but at the same time cannot think of neglecting any part of the duties of the Office, which you have honored me with—besides I cannot, at present, inform myself how far I may be liable to Censure.

Your generous invitation of myself and Girl to your House demands our grateful acknowledgments; long since have I been sensible of your friendship and hope it will one day be in my power to make amends—

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*Winslow was about purchasing a lot at Oak Point.

†Henry Nase was Winslow's deputy surrogate for the county of Kings—the office is now superceded by that of judge of probate.

‡Lieut. Cosby Hunt was gazetted lieutenant in the New York volunteers as early as 1778, and was the adjutant of the corps. He settled at Long Reach on the St. John river. In a letter to Gideon White, dated June 14, 1784, he writes: "All lads here are well and many there are who would be glad to see you here, "but none more than myself. I shall have a bit of log house as much at your "service as you please. I live in the neighborhood of my friend John Coffin, "from whom I have received every civility that long friendship and long per- "egrination together entitles friends to. Our neighborhood, I am told, is soon "to be ornamented with the Miss Winslows. They have a delightful place, and "I, tho' a stranger, wish they were in possession."

On May 29, 1787, Ward Chipman wrote Gideon White, "Cosby Hunt was "drowned last winter in an attempt to pass through the falls here and has left "a sorrowful widow and child." Cosby Hunt was the first sheriff of Kings county, New Brunswick.

meantime, the road is now open* and when you come our way there can be no excuse for passing our homely Cottage—and I believe I may venture to say none on the road or river, will be happier to see you. Farmers have neither leisure to write or read long letters; therefore pardon this trouble from

Your most Faithfull

——— Henry Nase.

Edward Winslow to Joshua Loring.†

Fredericton, New Brunswick, 2d December, 1788.

Sir,—Since I wrote you last I have received a letter from a friend in England advising me to come forward with a memorial to the Lords of the Treasury for recompence for the loss of offices which I have sustained by the rebellion in America.

The series of disappointments which I have experienced in former applications have so effectually depressed my spirits that it is with some difficulty I have reconciled myself to this attempt, and but for the consideration that any money which may be obtained is due to others, I would not have submitted to another solicitation. In my memorial, which I enclose to you, I have stated fairly and explicitly the facts from the beginning to the end of the Business, and I believe you will join with me in the conclusion that my case is peculiarly hard. * * *

The Memorial may be divided into paragraphs. The first relates to circumstances which took place before I joined the Army. I presume there are yet living in England numbers of my old friends who will very readily swear to all the facts contained in that part. If Judge Oliver‡ is alive (and I pray God he may be) I think he will not refuse to make the most pointed testimony in my favor. His son Peter, Mr. Elisha Hutchinson, my friends Daniel Leonard and Ben. Marston and many others were witnesses to the exertions I made in the County of Plymouth—they can say for me that I was among the first who stood forth openly.

The Plymouth protest which I wrote and patronised is a celebrated record of this fact. It is also known to all of them that the Tory Company at Plymouth was not only formed by me, but almost supported at my expence, and that by my means the town of Plymouth was kept in quiet long after all the towns in the neighborhood were in extreme confusion. The Chief Justice Oliver is acquainted with a number of facts respecting

*The road from St. John to Fredericton had now been made passable as far as the Nerepis.

†See biographical note under date 29th May, 1783.

‡Peter Oliver was appointed chief justice of Massachusetts in 1756. He was proscribed and banished on account of his loyalty to the crown. At the evacuation of Boston in 1776 he went to Halifax with the British forces, and from thence to England, where he died in 1791 at the age of 78 years. See his son's letter of Feb'y 1, 1806.

my operations which I need not relate. Mr. Robert Hallowell* was at Plymouth during some of the disturbances and knows the part I acted.

These gentlemen can also testify that I have valued the incomes arising from my offices at Plymouth and Boston within their real value.

The second paragraph which contains a history of the events with respect to myself at Boston may easily be proved by Colonel Sheriff, Col. Kemble,† and Capt. H. Rooke who were then in General Gage's family. I think they would willingly afford their testimony. Col. Small‡ is also in England, who officially waited on me after the Lexington business and offered me an Ensigncy in the 64th Regt., then vacant by the death of a Mr. Jackson. Small's heart would be open on this occasion as it is on every other where the cause of benevolence is concerned.

The original commissions of Registrar and Collector which I received at Boston are in this packet, and Mr. Hallowell or Hutton or any of the Commissioners or Robert Hallowell or Waterhouse I am sure will do me the justice to say everything that is necessary respecting my conduct as Collector. As a Registrar there was not much field for exertion, but 'tis matter of notoriety that I did at the risque of my life bring off and preserve all the publick records which were committed to my custody, and that since the treaty they have been delivered in perfect order to the Governor of Massachusetts by the Governor of Nova Scotia.‖ I think, on proper application, Lord Percy§ would condescend to honor me with a certificate of my services at Lexington or (if that is impracticable) Hutchinson or some other officer might prove the necessary facts. Your own evidence with respect to many of these circumstances could not fail of being useful. Lieutenant Governor Oliver, Richard Lechmere, John Vassall¶ and others may be called on to prove them. I remember Oliver accompanied me to Lord Percy's quarters the day after the battle of Lexington, and was present when his Lordship was pleased to declare that my conduct on that day did me great honor & that the Army were greatly indebted to me.

With respect to the subsequent transactions under Sir Wililam Howe, I feel bold in the consideration that I omitted no circumstance of duty.

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*See note under date May 9th, 1780.

†See note under date 30th July, 1775.

‡Colonel John Small—See note under date 15th May, 1783.

‖See letter to G. W. Murray under date 7th April, 1811.

§Lord Percy, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, was in command of the British at Lexington and was greatly indebted to Winslow's coolness and courage in acting as guide on the return of the expedition from Concord. See letter of Sir John Wentworth under date August 9th, 1815.

¶Richard Lechmere and John Vassall were eminent New England Loyalists. Both were at this time living in England. John Vassall's wife was a sister of Governor Oliver of Massachusetts.

'Tis notorious that my task was invidious and arduous until Col Innes* appointment. Personal quarrels and in two instances personal combats were the consequence of my exertions. There was not a man (I venture to affirm) in the whole British Army who was more unpleasantly or more frequently exposed than myself from the constant necessity of visiting all the outposts of the Army. Colonel Innes will certainly give a testimony of my industry in the execution of the duties of my Muster Master's office if it is necessary, and I presume Capt. Robert McKenzie will also recollect the serious exertions I made to correct the irregularities and detect the errors which were committed in the accounts of the Provincial Troops. Colonel Balfour will also do me the justice to acknowledge that I undertook with chearfulness many enterprizes out of the line of my duty. I also think Sir Wm. Howe would take the trouble of expressing his approbation of my conduct.

I cannot bear the idea of enlarging on these subjects. Egotisms of this kind are peculiarly disgusting to a man of any real delicacy, but justice to myself and family require that I enumerate all these events. During the command of Sir Henry Clinton, you know how I was embarrassed. It is known to General Vaughan and others now in England that the party of Refugees at Rhode Island would have gone to the devil if I had not taken charge of them. It was originally at General Vaughan's request that I accepted that command† and under an assurance from him that a detachment from the army should co-operate with us. 'Tis known to him and others that I refused to receive any advantage from the acquisitions of that party, but that I bore my own expenses, which as commanding officer were very considerable. Fanning and Leonard I believe have taken great credit to themselves for the operations of this party; I have never interrupted their pursuits. I rejoice that they have reaped advantage from their own representations, but I appeal to General Prescott, Barry and Savage, or any judicious man who served at Rhode Island, whether that party would not have sunk into contempt without my personal assistance. Sir George Collier‡ served with us on our expedition to Connecticut, and, from the civilities I then experienced from him, I think he might be induced to give a testimony in my favor. Whether certificates of this nature

*Colonel Innes was appointed inspector general of the Loyalist forces. See note under date 31st October, 1777.

†The expedition is referred to under "Orders Bedford Expedition," March 30, 1779, in this book.

‡Sir George Collier was admiral in the navy. In the year 1779 he relieved the garrison under Brig. Gen. McLean, which was besieged at Penobscot, and destroyed a considerable fleet of the enemy's vessels. The defence and relief of Penobscot were from the British standpoint among the most brilliant operations of the Revolutionary War.

will be necessary I leave for your consideration. I mention names because you may know to whom to apply for the establishment of such facts as it may be necessary to prove. As a Military man I suppose I ought and I really do feel myself satisfied with the handsome allowance of half-pay.

I have introduced my Military services into my memorial for no other purpose but to evince a uniformity and consistency of conduct during thirteen tedious years. It is for the same reason I have forwarded letters of approbation from the two Generals I served with after I came to this country.

The duty pointed out for me to execute in Nova Scotia was of all that I ever performed the most tedious and unpleasant. How it was executed —how far my representations contributed to the establishment of the new Province of New Brunswick, and how far I have been instrumental since in arranging the affairs of the Government, I leave to be explained by Col. Fox (who has repeatedly offered his services to me,) by Alderman Watson,* with whom I have constantly corresponded, by Governor Carleton's letter, which is inclosed—and by the testimony of Mr. Marston who has lived here and knows all about it. He also knows my motives for relinquishing all title to my father's compensation, and in short every other circumstance respecting me. To him I have written and have requested him to find you out and converse freely with you on the subject of my memorial, and to execute any commands of yours in the writing way or any other way that you may direct. He is the nearest relation and among the dearest of friends that I have in the world, and I am sure will give you every assistance in his power.

While I was in constant expectation of an office of equal emolument and importance to those which I had sacrificed, it surely would have been improper to have solicited for other recompence. The assurances to me were from good authority—Col. Fox and Mr. Watson. They in the most emphatical language said "That the arrangement was made and that Sir Guy Carleton had acceded to it, that I was certainly to be Secretary of New Brunswick." Others of my friends in England congratulated me repeatedly on the appointment. In these circumstances could I seek for recompence? * * *

I will not add to this enormous letter by any further remarks but will only say that I cannot but hope a case so singularly hard will not be entirely unnoticed by the British Government, but that either some pecuniary allowance will be made to me or some office provided for me by which I can support myself and my family comfortably.

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*Brook Watson was at this time alderman of London and later became lord mayor.

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